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INDIA TO-DAY

PEACE NUMBER

VOL. I. NO. I.

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ADHUNIK PRAKASHAN

(A Progressive Publishing House)

अराजकतावाद या समाजवाद ?

लेखक : स्टालिन

(Being the Hindi translation of "ANARCHISM OR SOCIALISM?" by Stalin)

REMOULDING THE IDEOLOGY

By MAO TSE-TUNG & OTHERS

(A collection of articles on the Reform of Study, On Subjectivism, Bureaucracy and Party-Jargon, Against Liberalism, and on Empiricism with an introduction by P. C. Joshi)

DOCUMENTS FOR DISCUSSION

Editor: P. C. JOSHI

(A series for the Communist Party members and close sympathisers only)

1. **PEACE MOVEMENT — MISTAKES AND TASKS**, by P. C. Joshi.
2. **ARE WE ONLY STUPID? — Part I**, by P. C. Joshi.
3. **PARTY-CRISIS AND WAY OUT** by P. C. Joshi.
4. **TELENGANA AND THE RAJESHWAR RAO LEADERSHIP** by O. P. Sangal.

7, Albert Road, Allahabad, India

INDIA TO-DAY

Editorial

Chief Editor: P.C. JOSHI Editor: O.P. SANGAL

VOL. I. MAY, 1951 No. I.

Peace Number

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WE did not invent a new name for ourselves. We have proudly adopted the title of one of the world famous books by *Rajani Palme Dutt*, which has helped to educate progressive democrats the world over on the role of British Imperialism in our country and the strength and weakness of our national movement, and which is reverently used as a text-book by the Indian Lefts to understand the past of our movement and the tasks ahead of the unfinished Indian Revolution.

Our honest endeavour will be to carry forward, from month to month, the scientific analysis of the Indian problems based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which R.P. Dutt has brilliantly formulated for our whole modern epoch. Against the current wave of frustration, we need the faith of the Russian Bolsheviks. Were their difficulties less? Lenin's comrades-in-arms derived their undying faith from their revolutionary ideology, Marxism. Against the growing cancer of cynicism we need the patience of the Chinese Communists. Mao Tse-tung's comrades-in-arms could tirelessly struggle for 30 long years because they used the Marxist-Leninist theory to understand the complicated problems of their liberation struggle and experience taught them that the more successfully they could wield their ideological weapon, the more effectively would they be able to lead their revolutionary struggle to victory.

We shall apply Marxism to Indian reality

For most patriotic Indians the post-15th August India has been all topsy-turvy. The conditions of life that they expected to change for the better have worsened and men they expected to rise higher have fallen lower than they imagined possible. Traditional ideas fail to explain the present tragedy. Yet we must understand it if we are to grapple with it.

The path forward before the Indian movement can never be blazoned unless the Indian Communists learn to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the Indian reality.

The broken hearts of Indian patriots cannot revive with new hope unless their own loyal service of our suffering people leads them on to study the experience of the

vast lands stretching from the Pacific to the Elbe, where nations have become truly independent, where people are really masters of their destiny, where truth triumphs and hope lives, where poverty is being liquidated and culture nursed.

INDIA TO DAY will not be a highbrow, so-called "theoretical" journal. It will truthfully mirror the sufferings of the people and formulate their pressing demands. It will carry contributions from the leaders of the Trade Unions, the Kisan Sabhas, the Students' organisations, and various democratic political organisations on the problems of rebuilding and uniting their disrupted and suppressed organisations.

For a new Democratic Front

Progressive intellectuals and advanced elements inside every democratic party and group have come to realise that after the betrayal of their pledges by the leaders of the Congress, the National Congress can no more function as the United National Front serving the needs of the people, *that a new Democratic Front uniting all the truly patriotic forces of the country must be formed outside the National Congress and against the Government manned and run by its leaders.*

The leaders of the Congress have compromised with the British Imperialism symbolised by their agreement to remain inside the British Empire and letting India be linked with the global strategic aims of the Anglo-American Imperialists. They are pledged to safeguard British Capital and enterprises in India and are offering anti-national terms to foreign Imperialist capital and enterprises.

The leaders of the National Congress have compromised with the old social allies of the British Imperialism, the Princes and landlords. They are hindering the democratic unification of various nationalities in autonomous linguistic provinces. They are playing with the problem of the abolition of the Zamindari system with the result that the feudal parasites are getting their price, the tiller of the soil remains land hungry, while the people suffer famine conditions.

The leaders of the Congress representing big capitalist interests have entered into alliance with the feudal parasites and Imperialist exploiters and warmongers. *The domination of this unholy alliance over our national life must be replaced by a new anti-Imperialist alliance of workers, peasants, youth, women, progressive intellectuals and national bourgeois elements who all suffer under the present regime.* Parties, organisations, groups

and eminent individuals representing these anti-imperialist democratic classes and interests have yet to be regrouped inside a broad-based Democratic Front. To the new and difficult problems of building such a Democratic Front which will carry forward the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, INDIA TO-DAY will make its contribution.

Importance of India

The eyes of both the Imperialist and the anti-imperialist leaders the world over are fixed on India. The Imperialist statesmen of the world realise that with China gone out of their orbit, India is their last major base left in the colonial world, and that without India's aid they cannot launch a major war on the Asian soil. In other words, they realize that without the Indian help they cannot turn back the wheel of history that is moving against them from Korea to Burma and will ultimately push them down their historic doom. The anti-Imperialist leaders of the world realise that if India breaks away from the Imperialist camp, it will be a decisive blow against the Imperialist war-mongers and winning a major ally for the camp of peace and democracy. That is why Stalin welcomed Nehru's peace initiative on Korea. That is why Mao Tse-tung gratefully greeted India's recognition of China and her championing of China's right of admission into the U. N. O. But the vacillations, the weaknesses and the contradictions of Nehru Government's policy are also the dismay of progressive people everywhere. They look forward to the day when the Indian popular movement will be able to force a real consistent change of policy on the Government, or establish a new Government which will adopt a new foreign policy and which will raise its powerful voice against the imperialist war-mongers, help to ensure lasting peace and aid the forces of freedom and democracy in every land.

INDIA TO-DAY will build a broad-based Indian Peace movement and unite all Indian anti-imperialist forces to actively aid Asian liberation and advance along lines that will align our great country with the camp of anti-imperialism, democracy and peace headed by the Socialist U. S. S. R. and the New People's China.

INDIA TO DAY is dedicating itself to a great and noble task, the struggle for full national independence and establishment of
See on Page 23]

India in the Battle for Peace

P. C. Joshi

I. With Imperialist War-mongers or Patriotic Peace Partisans ?

BEFORE the scars of suffering have healed, before the tragic memories of World War II have grown dim, the question on every intelligent lip and in every civilised land is: Will there be World War III ?

The battle-lines are getting drawn with greater and greater sharpness.

The war-mongers are led by the American Imperialists, who had hoped to take over the conquests and the resources of the defeated German and the Japanese Imperialists, and who have emerged unchallenged as the greatest Imperialist power on earth. They consider domination of the world as their right. They are out to blast all opposition to their plans by freedom-loving nations with their guns, by launching or provoking wars against them. Their allies are from among the reactionary politicians of every country who are rapidly losing the confidence of their own peoples.

They mask their aim of enslaving the world as defending human freedom and they perform this intellectual trick by borrowing arguments from the well-known arsenal of Goebbels & Co., by raising the bogey of Communism. They have turned the U.N.O. away from its original aim and with the aid of their satellites have made it into an extension of the U.S. State Department, to rubber-stamp Truman-Acheson proposals. They are out to re-arm Germany and make it the main arsenal in Europe and use the Reichswehr Generals and cadres to train their Atlantic Army. They are out to rearm Japan and use it as their main arsenal in the East and utilise the Japanese militarists to train up the armies of their Asian stooges. On the soil of Korea they have already fired the first salvoes of World War III and if the Korean conflict could not be extended, it is despite the Americans, it is because the

anti-imperialist peace-loving peoples and their wise leaders have successfully checked the war-mongers.

The imperialist War Camp led by the American Imperialists is being successfully countered by the anti-imperialist Peace Camp led by the U.S.S.R. and China. The future of war and peace depends upon which among the two camps wins and which loses.

Five post-war years

Let us cast a rapid look back at the last 5 post-war years to see who is winning and who is losing ?

The American Imperialists made the blue-prints of their post-war domination of the world while the World War II was on.

They did not believe in alliance with the U. S. S. R. except as a war-time expedient. They worked and hoped for such a weakening of the U. S. S. R. that it could be ignored, bullied and brow-beaten in post-war years. As American diplomacy began going back on the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and the U. N. O. Charter, Soviet diplomacy exposed them at every step and on every issue and on all available occasions inside and outside the U. N. O. Soviet diplomats made concrete proposals that will remove the causes of tension, ensure peace and lead to international co-operation. The result has been that the American rulers stand exposed, before a growing number of peoples, including their own, as self-seeking, power-mad, war-mongering politicians who do not honestly seek settlement, but would either dictate to, or threaten others, to have their way. In the world of today, the side that loses the ideological-moral battle in the judgment of honest leaders of thought and men, loses more than half the battle. The

aims of American Imperialists are being unmasked by the principled and patient Soviet diplomacy. The American Imperialists are driven to drug their own people with war hysteria and to rely upon the thoroughly discredited weapon of anti-Communism.

The American Imperialists had bargained that the war-devastated Soviet Economy will need American aid for its own rehabilitation, while the rest of the world will be available to them for their unhindered economic penetration. But, the reality under Stalin's Post-war Five-Year Plan turned out to be otherwise. The Soviet leadership relying upon the honest will to labour of the Soviet workers and collective farmers not only fulfilled the Five-Year Plan in four years, not only crossed the pre-war figures in every branch of national economy, but was able to actively aid the rehabilitation of the East European People's Democracies whose leaders had spurned the enslaving entanglements of the Marshall Plan. *Wise Socialist planning defeated greedy capitalist calculations.*

The result is that when the Soviet leaders passionately declare that a peaceful co-existence of different social systems in the world is possible and necessary and challenge capitalism to peacefully compete with Socialism, the American Imperialists start raving and slandering, the last resort of those who know they are losing.

Fiasco of American plans in Europe

The Dollar Imperialists had planned to restore capitalism in post-war Europe. They counted their chickens too early. Half of Europe—the Eastern half, set its face firmly against the old capitalist-feudal order and is stoutly marching towards Socialism in closest alliance with the U.S.S.R. In the other half—the Western half, Imperialists were more successful because of the occupation of these countries by Anglo-American armies which enabled the reactionary politicians of these countries to stage a political come-back.

Seeing through experience that the Marshall Plan has made their countries American colonies, and resenting American interference in their national-political life, and realising the consequences of letting their soldiers, sailors and airmen become American mercenaries, the democratic peoples of Western Europe are seeing that the path of their present rulers, the American puppets, is the path of national slavery, popular misery and ultimately mass human butchery. The peoples of Western Europe, therefore, are building broad-based and growing peace move-

ments which in important countries like France and Italy have become mighty mass movements and are headed by strong Communist Parties. Today, no honest observer will say that Western Europe is safe for the American Imperialists. They cannot count on its support for their war-plans, because the people themselves are turning against their plans. *On the other hand, independent neutrals frankly state that if the American Imperialists provoke a European war the Western Europe will be lost to Communism in no time, i.e., it will go out of the imperialist orbit and into the hands of its own peoples.* Such is the growing weakness of the American position in Western Europe and such the emerging awakening of the people.

Asia has become a volcano for them

The Imperialist circles had hoped that with some adaptations, and minor reshuffles they will be able to retain or regain their Asiatic colonies.

Their first big shock, from which they took long to recover, was when the Chinese people decisively rejected the regime of Chiang Kai-shek and all the plans of American strategists remained on paper despite millions of dollars sunk to stabilise Chiang's Government, despite millions of tons of equipment to aid his armies in the field.

Decisively defeated but yet undeterred, the American Imperialists fell back on the three-pronged MacArthur attack on People's China—in the north through Korea, in the south through Viet-Nam, and on the central mainland from Formosa. The MacArthur plan has been buried in the plains and high-lands of Korea, and the five-starred General has had to face disgrace and dismissal.

Instead of a restoration of the pre-war status-quo, all the Imperialist rulers of the world are faced with armed national liberation struggles in various South-East Asian countries.

Even in the sleepy Middle East a new national liberation upsurge is gathering strength and Imperialist puppets have to jail thousands of patriots and resort to martial-law in order to keep themselves in power. The Anglo-American rivalry over oil has become so acute that their native agents are using the method of assassination to outmanoeuvre each other and serve their respective imperialist masters.

The Asiatic Colonial World, thus, far from being the main reserve of World Imperialism, has become its main problem today. The imperialist warmongers are being forced to realise that the

The American Imperialists united the reactionary politicians inside every country into an *American Party*, they won over the Right-wing Socialist and Labour leaders who had begun to disdain the very class on whose shoulders they had risen to political and mass leadership and learn to respect the opinions of their master class and they were only too willing to denounce Communism as "authoritarian" and "dictatorial" and glorify capitalism as "democratic socialism" and popularise American war-plans as peace projects.

The American Imperialists seemed to succeed for a while. Even the once roaring British lion began acting as the lap-dog of Lady Dollar. But this pro-imperialist, anti-democratic, war-mongering alliance of reaction could never be stabilised. Lenin had forecast long ago that capitalists, who cannot but follow the law of dog eat dog, can never build a lasting unity among themselves. Whatever

The squabbles over the distribution of Marshall Aid appear small before the problem of getting the so-called "Atlantic countries" make their just contribution. Each wants the maximum of American money and equipment and is prepared to contribute the least in men to serve as cannon-fodder in America's anti-Soviet war.

The more real the implications of German re-armament become for the peoples who were the victims of German aggression, the more their panic increases, and the less possible the American puppets find to defend the American alliance before their bewildered peoples. Same with the re-armament of Japan in the east.

The first threat to use the atom bomb by Truman led Attlee rushing to Washington. The load of American-dictated British rearmament has already split the loyal British Cabinet.

In Korea the defeat of the American Army, led by their greatest General, equipped with all the weapons that American efficiency could produce, at the hands of the Korean Liberation Army and the heroic Chinese Volunteers, without the real weight of the Chinese People's Liberation Army being thrown in, without the



Soviet Air Force and the Soviet Armies coming in to the field, has convinced the world that *the American side is the losing side*. Such a fiasco of American arms and leadership as witnessed in Korea cannot but have a devastating effect on the morale and the internal unity of the American Puppets.

The American plans are not succeeding. They are being exposed and checkmated by Soviet diplomacy; they are being disrupted by popular action and wherever they have resorted to military intervention, they are being defeated by military action.

Danger of War has become acuter

But the Imperialists would not be imperialists if they took their defeat lying down. The less the people listen to their propaganda, the louder they lie to inject the backward. The more they lose, the more desperate they grow. From propaganda of war, they passed on to preparations for war, and have actually started local wars in two sectors of Asia, in Korea and Viet-Nam, and in Europe they are already trying provocation against the People's Democracies through the Tito gang from Yugoslavia.

The one historic lesson of the last 100 years of Imperialist domination, which Lenin first pointed out in his famous classic "*Imperialism—the Last Phase of Capitalism*" is that war is in the nature of Imperialism; it is the law of its life.

The one historic lesson, driven home into the heads of millions of intelligent men, of the last two world wars, is that diplomatic checks in peace-time do not make the imperialist warmongers adopt the path of reason, on the other contrary, they go more & more hypocritical and hysterical and take to actual preparations for war; that defeat in local wars does not convince the war-makers that their future is doomed, on the contrary, they think that only through bigger wars will they win their real aims. Such were the calculations and the practice of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. Such is the case with the Anglo-American Imperialists today.

There is no guarantee of lasting peace in the world until the Imperialist ruling classes and their reactionary puppets are hounded out of political life inside their own countries and successfully prevented from interfering in the lives of other countries.

Hence the very defeats of the Anglo-American plans in the past five post-war years are a call for more vigilance, for bringing about a still greater awareness of the issues involved among the broad masses of the peoples of all countries, for uniting and consolidating the camp of peace and democracy more and more.

Peace depends upon the People

The basic issues remain unsettled; the danger of war remains real; it is true that the war-mongers have been thrown on the defensive, but millions of people have yet to be educated, activated, organized and thrown into action in defence of peace.

In February this year, the *Pravda* correspondent asked Stalin the one question agitating the minds of all intelligent people; "What will be the outcome of this struggle of the aggressive and the peace-loving forces?"

Stalin gave the following answer in his traditionally clear cut manner:

"Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the people take into their own hands the cause of the preservation of peace and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the war-mongers succeed in enmeshing the popular masses in a net of lies, deceiving them and drawing them into another war.

"This is the reason why a broad campaign for the preservation of peace, as a means for exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers is now of paramount significance."

The issue and the task of the day could not be put into simpler and more truthful words.

Russia, China and India shall decide

The active role of the people the world over is the need of the hour. Lenin underlined the historic importance of the Indian people in a manner from which the anti-imperialist leaders of the Indian people cannot but derive an urgent sense of their own duty. Scanning the world situation after the end of World War I and the victory of the Russian Revolution the eagle-eyed Lenin confidently prophesied:

"In the last analysis the upshot of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India and China etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that during the past few years has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense the complete victory of

Socialism is fully and absolutely assured."
(Lenin: "Better Fewer, But Better,"
Pravda, March 4, 1923).

Let us recall where did Russia and China stood then and where do they stand now? And contrast their position with ours, only to realise acutely that our feet have to march faster to catch up with our great neighbours and historic allies. Geography, history and our own national aims proclaim aloud: *Russia, China and India together can decisively change the course of human history, against Imperialist warmongers, and towards the liberation, peace and prosperity of humanity.*

The Indian patriots cannot but derive new and limitless self-confidence by grasping the full significance of the strength of our allies.

Our North-Western Ally

Soviet Russia was struggling for life after World War I. After World War II it is heading the world-wide anti-imperialist democratic peace camp. In the relatively short span of 30 years, it is such a historic forward lead, at the head of progressive humanity, that only a wisely directed family of Socialist nations like the U.S.S.R. could confidently take.

The Russians have earned their leading place through the blood of their countless martyrs, through the sweat of their toilers and through the wisdom of their leaders. They staged the first successful popular revolution in the Epoch of Revolutions. They were the first to build Socialism in their country. They played the foremost part in the defeat of Fascist Imperialists in World War II. They unmasked Anglo-American post-war plans for world domination and for launching World War III. They have offered practical plans to save peace and ensure international co-operation.

POLITICALLY, the unity of the Soviet State is based on the highest form of peoples' democracy and equality of nations yet achieved by mankind. Behind Stalin are men and women enjoying the fruits of Socialism and engaged in building Communism. Truman is sitting on the top of a volcano of discontented slaves of capital, of nations robbed of their independence, of coloured races suffering discrimination, oppression and lynchings.

MILITARILY, the might of the Red Army was tested against what was once supposed to be the unconquerable German Army. Stalin has successfully carried out the behest of Lenin, to raise and train the Red Army

to be able to defeat any combination of Imperialist powers. The German and the Japanese Imperialists challenged it during World War II and lost half of Europe and a good part of Asia to the people. If the Anglo-American Imperialists dare challenge it, they will lose the remaining parts of Europe and Asia.

ECONOMICALLY, the capitalist leaders are pursuing policies which worsen problems all round and intensify the economic crisis, while the Soviet leaders have completed the Post-War Five-Year Plan in only 4 years and 3 months and have achieved a magnificent success. The industrial output in 1950 was 73% above that of 1940. The 1950 grain harvest surpassed the 1940 harvest by 345 million poods. Soviet citizens have received 4 major price reductions and large wage increases. Against this the economy of capitalist countries presents a picture of stagnation and decay.

During the last twenty years the average level of production in U. S. A. increased about two per cent annually; but in the U. S. S. R. it increased by *twenty per cent*. Thus, the tempo of the growth of Socialist economy is ten times that of the most powerful capitalist country in the world. Who will doubt that Socialism will surpass capitalism in our own day and under our own eyes?

In the U. S. S. R., atomic energy is being put to peaceful uses; mountains are being blasted, course of rivers changed, whole deserts irrigated to become fields and pastures; the very climate and nature are being changed.

Who would want his country remain yoked to the dying Capitalism, instead of learning from and cooperating with the rising Socialism.

INTERNATIONALLY, the strength and the influence of the U. S. S. R. are growing. New states have risen on its borders which are bound with it in closest alliance; 450 million strong People's Republic in the east and 150 million strong Peoples' Democracies in the West. Its policy of World Peace of achieving peaceful co-existence of the Capitalist and the Socialist systems and freedom for all nations has found a world wide popular base through the emergence of the *World Peace Congress* which mobilised 50 crores of people against the atom bomb and plans to rally more for the Pact of Peace.

It is India's fortune to have such a strong prosperous and peaceful neighbour on its north-west.

Our North-Eastern Ally

The victory of the Chinese Revolution has soul-stirring significance that the cause of Asian liberation has won its greatest victory and a mighty bastion of peace, democracy and freedom manned by 450 million Free Asians has emerged on the Asian soil.

All the weight of the Chinese diplomacy in alliance with the U. S. S. R. will be thrown on the side of defeating the Imperialist plans in Asia and ensuring the withdrawal of foreign Imperialist troops from all Asian countries.

Every Asian country can feel secure against imperialist military intervention by entering into a mutual assistance pact with the People's Republic of China.

The Mao leadership is putting through plans to transform China into a great modern industrial nation with Soviet assistance, and is offering trade on equal terms and in mutual interest to all Asian countries and above all to our country. The Dollar Imperialists are rebuilding Japan under the slogan of cooperation between an industrial Japan and an agricultural South-East Asia.

Protector of Asian nations

From the Imperialist side, the economic pressure on all Asian countries will be to keep us as agricultural and backward countries producing cheap raw materials for their industries and aggressive war plans. From the Chinese side will come the inspiring example of how a free nation transforms the old colonial and feudal order into a new democratic and well-balanced industrial agricultural economy serving all the needs of its people.

The agrarian reforms have already changed the chronically famine and flood stricken Kuomintang China into a prosperous food-exporting People's China, as we know it from our own experience. As new industrialisation plans

get into stride, new happy prospects will arise before every Asian nation which is in friendly cooperation with People's China.

In the wake of the victory of the Chinese National Revolution, a new Cultural Renaissance is taking place. Mass illiteracy is being rapidly eradicated. Intellectuals—leaders of an ancient nation—are educating themselves anew in the science of Marxism-Leninism, the science which when applied skilfully and correctly by the Mao leadership led to the victory of their Revolution. When the leaders of the Chinese thought and culture start applying this new science to various branches of knowledge, China will make new contributions to world culture.

It is India's good fortune to have such a rising anti-imperialist, peaceful power as our north-eastern neighbour.

WHEN THE INDIAN PEOPLE REALISE THAT THEIR TRUE PLACE IS WITH THE U. S. S. R. AND THE PEOPLE'S CHINA INSIDE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEACE CAMP, THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION WILL BE RADICALLY TRANSFORMED, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN WAR PLANS SUFFER MAJOR DEFEAT, THE CAMP OF PEACE SCORE A DECISIVE VICTORY AND LENIN'S HISTORIC PROPHECY COME TO LIFE.

Informed Indians spontaneously contrast Mountbatten-created and Nehru-led India with Mao-led People's Republic of China. The anti-American feeling in our country today is a growing mass feeling. The moral and material strength of the U. S. S. R., despite the anti-Soviet propaganda in Big Business press is being increasingly realised by all sections of the people. The Tass publication "*Sovietsland*" and specially its editions in Indian languages are having record sales. The mass of our people true to their anti-imperialist, peace-loving traditions are growingly becoming anti-American and pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet.

What of our ruling class ?

II Zigzags of Nehru's Foreign Policy

THE British-imposed deadlock had left India without a National Government for the entire war period. When the San Francisco Conference met for the foundation of the U. N. O., the British-nominated delegation from our country was led by the quisling knight Ramaswamy Mudaliar. The Congress Working Committee was yet in jail but Gandhiji was out and he denounced this misrepresentation of India and declared:

"Real peace can only be based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. . . . exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars.

"An indispensable preliminary to peace is the complete freedom of India from all foreign control.

"Independent India is pledged and prepared for international cooperation, which may take the form of a World Federation."

Molotov's helping hand

These words could not but find sympathetic response among lovers of peace and friends of freedom. Forty members of the British Parliament demanded the release of Congress leaders enabling Indian representation at 'Frisco by representatives of a National Indian Government. Molotov threw Soviet weight on the Indian side when he stated:

"The delegation from India represented a country which was not independent. . . . We are confident, the time will come when the voice of independent India will be heard."

When the problem of colonies came up Molotov again stated:

"The Soviet delegation realises that from the point of view of international security we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence. The Soviet delegation will take active part in the consideration of this problem in its entirety."

Even the correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, J. J. Singh was stirred into writing:

"I confess that when Mr. Molotov read this clause (quoted above) my eyes moistened. I felt an indescribable thrill. Here was a great and powerful nation striking out forcibly and in unmistakable terms for the 'national independence' of all peoples"

I. The First Flush

The Congress leadership utilised the post-war national upsurge to strike a compromise with the British Government. After complicated negotiations, the Interim Government with Nehru as the Vice-President was formed on September 2, 1946.

Nehru outlined his foreign policy in the first press Conference. He declared that henceforth:

India's foreign policy will be independent of the policy of White Hall;

India will support veto in the U. N. Charter for the sake of Big Power unanimity;

India will stand for Colonial freedom;

Indian men and money will not be used for the suppression of national movements in other countries; and

India will fight against South African treatment of Indians.

They were bold new words; but at the Paris Peace Conference the Indian delegation, which was nominated by the earlier

Caretaker Government, under Ranganadhan continued to side with the British on some vital issues.

At the First Session of the U. N. O. General Assembly (end of 1946) India and the Soviet acted together on the issues of

(i) the South African racial discrimination against Indians;

(ii) the South African plan to annex South-West Africa;

(iii) Setting up Trusteeship Council in a manner as to provide democratic checks against Imperialist oppression; and

(iv) the retention of the veto system.

Imperialist circles did not like this orientation of India inside the U. N. O. and put pressure. Indian delegate Justice Chagla summarized the position as follows:

"Our instructions from the Government of India were that we should consider every question that came up before the United Nations on its merits and decide accordingly."

"As it happened Russia and her group did support us strongly on the South African issue, and on certain other questions we found ourselves taking the same line as the Russians. But at no time did we blindly vote with the Russian group."

Mrs. Pandit, the leader of the Indian delegation stated:

"The Soviet approach to most problems has been somewhat more liberal than that of Britain and the United States".

So deep was the stirring of national feeling within India in recognition of the Soviet support to the cause of India and of colonial freedom that even Ashok Mehta was driven to write in the *Blitz*:

"We acknowledge with gratitude and pride the debt we owe to Russia for the unstinted support given to India in the hour of need."

Asian Relations Conference

India carried forward her new role to pursue an independent foreign policy and aid Asian freedom when the Nehru Government took initiative to summon in New Delhi the inter-Asian Relations Conference (April, 1947).

From its platform Nehru denounced Imperialist domination and proclaimed Asian nations' determination to be free:

"For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in western Courts and Chancelleries in the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be the plaything of others."

Vacillations start

These rousing declarations and unanimous reports and resolutions were essentially sound. Subsequent events were to prove whether they were empty words or meant to be seriously implemented. China was yet under the Chiang regime which under American Imperialist inspiration and guidance was planning to unleash a gigantic civil war. The South-East Asian countries were in the midst of their national struggles. In the middle east, Anglo-American rivalries were becoming acuter, but the joint front to drown the rising local anti-imperialist democratic movements was also in operation. The role of India was, therefore, decisive in the coming months and years.

This phase of India adopting an independent policy also led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. in April, 1947. Imperialist pressure to prevent and delay establishment of normal relations with our great neighbour did not succeed, but the pro-imperialist anti-Soviet reactionaries immediately manoeuvred and got all the facilities for stepping up foul and slanderous anti-Soviet propaganda in the Indian press and invading our Universities and utilising all the channels of information (e. g. the A. I. R.) and public instruction.

At the third session of the U. N. O. General Assembly (autumn, 1947) Indian representatives began to vacillate; the duality of Indian stand puzzled the friends of India as it roused into criticism the advanced Indian democrats.

India and the Soviet acted together and aided the cause of peace, national self-determination and international co-operation on the following important issues: the retention of veto in the U. N. O. Charter; Palestine; the Indonesian cease-fire; the South African plan to annex the South-West Africa; the question of withdrawal of foreign troops from Greece; the question of submitting to the U. N. O. information about colonies; and the issue of the Trusteeship Council.

India supports Imperialists

But on some very important issues India supported the Anglo-American camp and aided their anti-democratic plans.

In the name of acting the conciliator between Great Powers, India stood neutral on the question of ratification of the Italian Peace Treaty. Ratification would have led to prompt withdrawal of Anglo-American troops from Italy. India offered it under

American pressure.

Indian representatives supported Anglo-American Imperialists for the first time on the issue of setting up the Little Assembly in violation of the U. N. O. Charter, diminishing the authority of the Security Council and by-passing the veto right and thus moulding U. N. O. into an Anglo-American Imperialist agency with the aid of the fake majority of the puppet states.

On the Korean issue, the Indian delegation supported the American game.

The U. S. had proposed that under U. S. supervision elections be held in both zones, a Government formed and then troops of occupying powers be withdrawn.

The Soviet demanded that the representatives of the Korean people be heard on the matter, and proposed that the occupying powers first withdraw their forces and then elections be held and a Korean Democratic Government be established.

India's responsibility for Korean War

The Indian delegation intervened with a compromise proposal. It proposed U. N. O. control, instead of supervision of the elections, but the troops of the occupying powers were to be withdrawn after elections. Thus the crux of the American proposal was taken over.

The first chairman of the U. N. O. Commission for Korea was an Indian representative and he obediently dittoed everything Washington suggested.

Nehru Government thus bears the political moral responsibility for the later open military American aggression against the heroic Korean people. Indian Government aided the American plans and preparations for the same.

And what has been India's reward? Only this that the American Imperialists are now trying to impose on the Nehru Government, the same proposals for Kashmir which it had itself prepared for the Koreans earlier. Historic retribution stares Nehru Government in the face.

Why did the Nehru Government start going back upon its declared aim of independent foreign Policy ?

Because of August 15, 1947!

The deal between the Indian big capitalists, represented by the Congress leadership, and the British Government had been struck. India was to declare itself a Republic but stay inside the British empire; i. e., the Congress leadership had agreed

not only to retain the colonial status quo in India as an integral part of British Imperialist structure but had voluntarily agreed to let India be integrated with British Imperialist "Defence" (i. e., War) strategy.

Nehru Government was playing at power politics so far, exploiting Anglo-American contradictions on the one hand and the Imperialist and Soviet contradictions on the other. With the 15th of August, the phase of pressure tactics and noble words ended, and then began *Pandit Mountbatten Ki Jai and Lord Nehru Ki Jai*.

Nehru Government's foreign policy staged a right about turn into the Imperialist group.

2. The Phase of Retreat

(August 15, 1947 to early 1950)

The price of 15th of August Mountbatten-Nehru settlement was that practical steps to coordinate Indian economy and strategy with British went ahead and Nehru's voice became the Asian voice of Anglo-American Imperialism.

Strategic Coordination

Through a series of commonwealth Conferences Indo-British economic and strategic links were strengthened anew. Our military equipment is patterned upon and is exclusively secured from Anglo-American sources. Our Commander-in chief was groomed for the job by the British themselves. Our Naval and Air Chiefs are British and so are all technical military advisers.

Nehru's Government was "fully consulted" on the text of the ATLANTIC PACT and it "whole-heartedly consented" to Britain joining the Pact. Indian Government linked up her defence with Britain and supported Britain linking up with U. S. A. and its Atlantic puppets, and, thus, we became part of the Anglo-American global strategic chain.

Nehru Government participated both in the secret and the public discussions of the PACIFIC PACT. India was represented at the Baguio Conference by the notorious British puppet Ramaswamy Mudaliar. Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister, who was playing a leading role in the negotiations, stated after consultation with Bevin:

"Such a pact would be on the lines of the North Atlantic Pact...Countries certain to be included in any first approach for membership of the pact are believed to be the U. S. A., Canada, Britain, Australia, New Zealand and India. By dual

membership of the Atlantic and Pacific Pacts a link would be secured with defence arrangements of Europe.

The Pacific Pact and the Indian participation in it would have fructified but for the emergence of People's China. The moment Nehru Government realised that this new rising major Asiatic power would denounce and oppose the Pacific Pact in the East as resolutely as the U. S. S. R. was opposing the Atlantic Pact in the West, it retreated.

Economic penetration

The long drawn negotiations with Britain and other Empire countries have crystallised in the form of the Colombo Plan under which our economy is condemned to remain colonial, i.e., go on producing raw and strategic materials for imperialist needs and remain industrially backward and dependent.

An Indo-American Air Pact was signed early in 1947, on the basis of equality between the giant America and the infant India. Airlines, Airmen and Aircraft of 3 big American Air Companies are getting acclimatised to our climate, landscape, etc.

American penetration has come through other channels too. Early in 1949, an American-dominated World Bank Mission made a thorough survey not only of the projects for which loan was demanded by India but also of the over-all economic and financial resources of our country.

Another American-dominated Mission came from the International Monetary Fund to consider loans of Rs. 540 crores for the reconstruction of country's airfields and Rs. 300 crores for building an 'Indian' Navy under a British Admiral and with ships from British and American yards.

It is not only that the Nehru Government has been going to Anglo-American monopoly capitalists for economic 'aid', but has also been yielding to their pressure not to enter into normal (and to us more profitable) economic relations with the U. S. S. R., the People's China and the East European countries.

The cat is out of the bag inside the American Congress where the shameless demand is being openly made that if we want American food to fight our famine we must not only pay for it but also mortgage our foreign policy and become enemies of the U. S. S. R. and the People's China and endanger our national security.

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Against Asian Freedom

Earlier, Nehru had spoken for Asian freedom. In this phase of his foreign policy he struck a series of blows against the freedom struggles of the Asian countries.

After the renewed Dutch aggression in Indonesia in the winter of 1948 there was universal demand for firm action by the U. N. O., and solidarity action by Asian nations.

Earlier Soviet and India had worked together. This time India and U. S. A., worked together. Indian delegate, Rama Rau at the U. N. O. dropped the demand of an immediate cease-fire and total withdrawal of Dutch troops.

Nehru Government took initiative to summon an Asian Conference on Indonesia but did not invite the Asiatic Soviet Republics to it. It is no wonder that U. S. Ambassador in India, Loy Henderson was able to forecast that this Conference would have a "constructive effect."

The Conference did denounce Dutch Aggression in the preamble of its resolution, but in the operative part, it endorsed the American plan on crucial issues.

Thus, the authority of the Republican leaders was confined to the Residency of Jogjakarta.

The Republican Government was forced to become part of an Interim Government together with the old pro-imperialist non-Republicans.

Dutch troops were given three months to smash up guerilla resistance and they could be used later to "restore law and order".

The *New York Times* correspondent reported that Loy Henderson played a significant role to make the final resolution "moderate and workable."

The organ of the British oligarchy the London *Economist* commended the Delhi conference as an example of "what can be done with Asian nationalism if handled aright."

Help to Nu; abuses to Malayan patriots

New Delhi also became the venue of another "informal Conference on Burma" where Thakin Nu was promised support against the Communists and other patriots (in the form of arms and money) and pressure was exerted on him to settle with the pro-British Karens.

After this the London *Economist* characterised Nehru as a "stateman of genius" and explained:

"He had first assembled the nations of Asia for consideration of the Indonesian question and incidentally taken the wind out of Russia's anti-imperialist sails by giving leadership to Asian opinion on the subject... He has now brought together a family council of the Commonwealth in such a way that neither is Britain exposed to the charge of reviving Imperialism by intervention in Burma, nor is India left alone to cope with a very unpleasant situation on its eastern borders."

Nehru went on a goodwill visit to Indonesia and on the way back touched at Singapore where he publicly fraternised and feasted with the British butchers of the Malayan patriots as a State Guest and roundly denounced the guerillas. This he did knowing that the majority of the Indians living in Malaya, true to the national tradition of their homeland, were anti-British; knowing that the best sons of the Indian plantation workers and employees in Malaya were among the heroic guerilla fighters; knowing that they had made a proud contribution even in numbers martyred in the united armed struggle of Indians, Chinese and Malays for the sacred cause of Malayan independence and democratic rights.

It was no sudden outburst on Nehru's part. The basis for this new friendliness with the British rulers and this hostility towards the freedom fighters of colonial countries had been laid when as a part of the 15th August settlement, Nehru Government had agreed to let a section of the Gurkhas in the old Indian Army join the British Army. Those very Gurkhas were now being used against the Malayan anti-imperialist struggle.

India's reward: Intervention in Kashmir

Indian reactionaries had thought that for their servile pro-Imperialism the least price they would get, would be Anglo-American support over Kashmir. What they really got was a public sermon from Attlee and Truman to accept arbitration and stop talking in terms of national self-respect and just democratic principles.

Verbal protests were, of course, made but the Dixon Mission, proposed by the Anglo-American representatives, was accepted, which tried to entangle India into accepting some variant of the Anglo-American plan for the strategic Kashmir.

Servility to Imperialists could only get in return calls to surrender and never solidarity in a just cause.

3. New shift : 1950 - ?

The above headlong march into and along with the Imperialist camp was disrupted and halted by the rise of the Chinese People's Republic and the events that followed.

The American strategists had not bargained for such a rapid loss of China. They had hoped that with the aid of their countless dollars and up to date equipment, Chiang Kai-shek would hold on a substantial part of China, at least, up to the time they prepared the ground, diplomatically and militarily, for a large-scale American war on the Chinese soil.

Secondly, because the Kuomintang regime had begun to stink in the nostrils of decent men the world over through the exposure of its own nepotism, corruption and inefficiency (all of which was inevitable under native reaction representing feudal-compradore interests in a backward colonial country), the Anglo-American rulers planned to build up Nehru as the wise Asian statesman and he had past reputation for anti-imperialism and progressivism. Hence the Anglo-American diplomats directed a campaign of fulsome flattery of Nehru to exploit Indian national sentiment. They organised pressure at all the weak spots of the Indian situation and life to get the needed surrender by the Nehru Government to their plans. Sadly for them, this plan too could not come to full fruition.

Chinese Revolution: main reason of shift

The rapid victories of the People's Liberation Army against Chiang Kai-shek convinced even the friends of the Anglo-American Imperialists in India that the American plans for the reconquest of China were still-born. Gradually the significance of the birth of Peoples' Republic of China began to dawn: that China was no more the sick man of Asia and 45 crores of people were actually up on their feet; that China was no more only potentially a great power but had begun to act as such, both on the diplomatic and military planes; that the biggest nation of Asia through its own liberation had suddenly advanced to the position of leadership of Asia. Indian ruling circles could not just whisk this reality away from their calculations.

As the American aggressive plans for the whole of Asia, of direct or indirect control and domination of every Asian country, began unfolding themselves, even the bourgeois nationalist circles in colonial countries, and

above all in India, began realising that to directly aid American plans is to heavily lose face before their own people.

Korea exposes America's feet of clay

The American military disasters in Korea spot-lighted the entire actual situation: *that a determined freedom-loving people, even of such a small nation as Korea, can defeat and shake to its very foundations the aggressive military might of America; that the American ship even in Asian waters was a sinking ship.*

The politically experienced Indian big bourgeois leadership began acting as even rats do inside a sinking ship and Nehru Government registered new shifts in its foreign policy, away from the direction it was rushing down and towards the course it had turned its back upon, though still remaining yoked to its 15th of August moorings.

Nehru Government's welcome steps

In this phase Nehru Government began disentangling itself from the logical consequences of its earlier and growing pro-imperialist alignment and on specific issues took a positive stand for the preservation of peace and demarcated itself from the rabid proposals of the war-mongers.

Korea: It first supported the illegal Anglo-American resolution and blessed American aggression as United Nations' action. But as the American and puppet armies began reeling back under North Korean patriotic blows, it took bold initiative for a peaceful settlement of the Korean issue. Stalin welcomed it, but Acheson turned it down. It has, therefore, thrown its diplomatic weight to localise the conflict. It roundly denounced Truman threat to use the atom bomb and helped to prevent the power-mad U. S. rulers from putting this threat into practice. Despite these correct and concrete steps to save world peace, the Nehru Government has not yet renounced its earlier support to the illegal U. N. O. resolution and has instead, sent a Medical Unit to Korea which is serving as a part of the British Empire forces in the field.

China: India's was the first Government outside the Soviet-led anti-imperialist camp to recognise the Chinese People's Republic and ever since it has been strongly pressing for admission of People's China into the U. N. O. and for the seating of its representative in his rightful place in the Security Council. Inside the U. N. O., it opposed the Anglo-American proposal to denounce People's China as the aggressor, though it did not support the

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Soviet proposal to denounce actual and real American aggression despite violation of the Chinese air, blockade of the Chinese coast, occupation of Chinese territory in Taiwan and the bombings of Chinese towns. It got impermissibly upset over the assertion of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.

American War Propaganda and Aggressive Plans: In a series of speeches and statements beginning from the second half of last year, Nehru has denounced the key slogan of Anglo-American warmongers of a preventive anti Soviet war to win the next world war to win world peace. This upset the Imperialists, for it discredited them in Asia and isolated them in their own countries. This aided the Peace Partisans, for it enabled them to win new and hitherto vacillating elements to support the crusade for lasting peace by saving peace now.

In the latest session of the U. N. O. General Assembly, the Indian representative opposed the Acheson Plan to revise the Charter and turn the U. N. O. away from its original purposes of safeguarding peace and subordinate U. N. O. to U. S. State Department dictation, acting as its international mask.

Kashmir: The Indian Government has refused to accept the Anglo-American Resolution passed by the Security Council which will bring foreign troops on the Kashmir soil and subordinate its democratic Government to the arbitrary will of an American nominee.

Food and Strategic Materials: It has needed the pressure of menacing famine conditions before the Nehru Government took the risk of displeasing the Dollar Monopolists and entered into negotiations for food deals with China and the U.S.S.R. But the fraternal willingness of these countries and the easy and cheap terms offered did not prevent the Indian Government from giving monazite concession to the war-mongers—the avowed enemies of India's friends who are sending food in her time of need.

4. Whither India's Foreign Policy?

The zigzags of Nehru's foreign policy are the result of the push and pull between the Indian big capitalists and the Anglo-American Imperialists.

Peace-loving democrats the world over were as greatly disappointed over the pro-imperialist orientation of India's foreign policy following the 15th of August as they are now looking with new hope towards India after a

series of initiatives for peace by the Indian Government in the recent past.

Progressive patriots under Congress influence feel as proud of the new orientation of Nehru's foreign policy as they are discontented over his internal policy.

Indian Lefts tended to ignore the significance of these new shifts in Indian foreign policy, which were themselves a reflection of bigger shifts on the world scene. Late awakening to reality never starts with a clear-headed understanding and the mind registers extreme swings. Indian Lefts for the time being are sharply divided. Some tend to indulge in uncritical glorification of Nehru's foreign policy, ignoring its vacillations and contradictions. Others tend to ignore its objectively progressive role on crucial specific issues in the wider struggle of war versus peace.

A correct understanding that neither surrenders to false national pride, nor shuts its eyes to living reality, is urgently called for.

India under Nehru, by the very limitations imposed upon Indian sovereignty under 15th of August compromise, is a part of the British Empire whose rulers have mortgaged and subordinated it to the mighty Dollar Empire.

Why this change in Nehru's policy?

The recent welcome shifts in Nehru's policy are a reflection of the contradictions in the camp of Imperialist reaction.

As the weakness of the Imperialist position in Asia and the fiascos of the immediate plans of aggressors became apparent, Indian ruling class circles became uneasy. They realised that to go whole-hog with the Anglo-American Imperialists and permit them to use India as their actual war-base, means putting their own regime into jeopardy, face the rising hostility of the patriotic and peaceful Indian people, and lose everything when the unconquerable Red Army from the North-West and the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army from the North-East come marching in pursuing the Anglo-American Imperialist armies to smash them in their main Asiatic base. They, therefore, decided to disown and dissociate themselves from the immediate war plans of the Anglo-American Imperialists.

The Indian ruling class could take some bold anti-war measures and risk the displeasure of the British and the Americans because it is not, itself, faced with any imminent threat of internal revolution.

The dominant sections in the Indian leaderships are politically experienced enough not to hand 'over the national masses to the Left and themselves appear only as the apologists of the Imperialists.

Hence the new shift in Nehru Government's policy; while not breaking loose from the Imperialists, hence the attempt to disentangle itself from getting into deeper commitments with the Imperialist warmongers disowning their war hysteria and even opposing their actual moves of aggression.

Lenin, the greatest revolutionary strategist of our age, proclaimed 'the tactical axiom that the proletarian and the people's movement which cannot exploit the contradictions in the enemies' camp and fail

to win allies however vacillating and weak, will never successfully fight forward to victory.

The right attitude for Indian progressives towards Nehru's foreign policy will be to:

Boldly support all his specific peace moves; they objectively aid the anti-imperialist peace camp;

Sharply expose all the weaknesses, vacillations and contradictions of his policy which come from pro-imperialist alignment and demand that a consistent and firm peace policy be followed.

Tirelessly work to establish a Government that will more correctly reflect the will of our common people, completely break Indian ties with the Imperialists and whole-heartedly join the anti-imperialist peace camp and lead India to play her rightful role in the world.

III. For World Peace and Asian Liberation

The issue of peace or war is the central issue before every country including ours. From it stem all problems, and on it depend their solution too.

This realisation led the advanced elements among Indian patriots to organise the Indian Peace movement as a part of the World Peace Congress which embraces in its ranks the best and most eminent sons of every people.

The Indian Peace committee already includes in its ranks Congressmen of the eminence of Dr. Kitchlew, Lala Dunichand and Pandit Sunderlal; Left leaders representing almost all parties except the Right-wing pro-American Socialists; labour leaders like Chakkarai Chettiar and Satyapriya Banerji; writers like Vallathol, Sumitranandan Pant, Mahadevi Verma, Tarashankar Banerji, and Rajendra Singh Bedi; cultural workers like Prithvi Raj Kapoor, Anil Biswas, and Ravi Shankar; journalists like Karanjia, Rana Jung Bahadur Singh and Shamlal; jurists like P. R. Das; and Professors Kosambi, Habib and D. K. Karve. To get rid of the sectarian legacy of the past it is organising this month in Bombay its All India Convention to frankly discuss problems of rallying India for World Peace and Asian Liberation which will enable it to broad-base the movement.

Attention will undoubtedly be concentrated upon the following specific issues:

Pact of Peace: The Berlin session of the World Peace Council has launched the appeal for a world-wide campaign for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers with the proviso that the nation that refuses will be considered as nursing aggressive intentions. It will be

proposed that the Indian Government act the host for convening such an international conference. Such an effort will spotlight the decisive role of India. To get our Government take the initiative will be the problem before every peace loving Indian.

The National Appeal: The all India Preparatory Committee will propose to launch the following appeal for mass signatures throughout the country:

"Affirming our faith in the establishment of peace and good will among nations and confidently asserting that war is not inevitable, we call upon our people and our Government:

To demand banning of all weapons of mass extermination and to call for simultaneous and proportionate disarmament among the nations.

To urge the withdrawal from each Asian country of all troops foreign to that country.

To declare that no foreign power shall recruit for their armed forces Indian nationals or those of another country on Indian soil.

To categorically state that no permanent or temporary transit bases or transport facilities for troops, recruits or war materials shall be granted in India to any foreign power.

It does not go beyond the oft-proclaimed aims of every section of our national movement. In practice it means breaking away from the shame of the alignment with the Imperialist camp of war-mongers and taking our proud place in the anti-imperialist camp of the plights for peace.

For Asian Solidarity: No country is more popular in India than China; from no other country we have to learn as much as from China.

Close Indo-Chinese diplomatic cooperation can become a decisive factor in Asian liberation and for World peace. Close Indo-Chinese economic and cultural cooperation will strengthen people's welfare in both countries and advance their respective national cultures.

No patriotic Indian will even say that our Government has done its duty by Korea, if he knew the nature and the extent of the American atrocities in Korea. Nehru Government is putting its weight behind a peaceful solution in Korea but it has also sent a Medical unit from our Army to serve the American aggressors. It is a shameful contradiction between word and deed. *The Indian Medical unit must be summoned back home or asked to serve the tortured Koreans and not their torturers.*

The Gurkhas cannot be sent as British mercenaries to fight the Malay guerillas without the consent and co-operation of the Indian Government. They are being recruited on Indian soil. This has to be stopped in future. Those already in Malaya have to be recalled by persuading Nepal Government and letting it be known that they will not be allowed passage back to Nepal over Indian territory if the Nepal Government insists on servility to the British Imperialists and refuses to listen to brotherly Indian advice.

For Peaceful Indo-Pak Relations:

It is nonsense to speak of fighting for world peace and let Indo-Pak relations drift the way they are doing. In fact, solving the Indo-Pakistan problems is the specific contribution we have to make to the cause of world peace, as well as to disrupt the Imperialist plans to provoke and weaken us both and themselves come in as arbitrators to force us to align with them.

The crux of Indo-Pak relations is the issue of Kashmir.

The Anglo-American plan to plant foreign troops and impose an imperialist Arbitrator under the cover of U. N. O. must be resisted at all costs despite the acceptance of the proposals by the Pakistan Government.

A just solution of the Kashmir issue can only be based on the acceptance of the following principles:

ANTI-IMPERIALISM, i. e., no acceptance of foreign troops to be stationed inside Kashmir under any cover.

SELF-DETERMINATION, i. e., the people of Kashmir themselves to decide the issue

of accession through a democratic and free plebiscite.

FAIR ELECTIONS, guaranteed under the supervision of a Commission of the full Security Council; this and not a Commission appointed by the Anglo-American majority will be impartial.

It is a hard battle and who would expect a peaceful solution of the knottiest problem created by the Imperialists except through a sustained successful effort for the acceptance of just principles by the two Governments?

The national economy of both our countries has been distorted, our peoples are suffering want and our traditional trade links have been disrupted by the British imposed partition. All hindrances to restoration of mutual trade must be removed in the interests of our peoples and for the lessening of the existing tension.

"National Security in Danger" is the war-cry of reactionaries on both the sides. The Imperialists are biding their time to impose a Defence Pact under their own auspices and link up the coordinated Indo-Pakistan defence with their own world plans. Our answer can only be:

1. An Indo-Pakistan Pact of Lasting Friendship and Mutual Assistance against all foreign aggressors.

2. Non-aggression Pacts with all our neighbours: Persia, Afghanistan, the U. S. S. R., China and Burma.

Economic Cooperation with all countries that will trade with us on equal terms and aid our industrial development without political strings. The contrast between the Colombo Plan and the Sino-Soviet Economic Pact needs to be nationally popularised. The contrast between the American and Chinese terms for food has laid the basis for mass realisation of the fact that only from our anti-imperialist allies we will get fair terms and real aid to build our national economy.

Their aim and ours

The Imperialist aim vis-a-vis our country has been graphically described by the American ace columnist Walter Lippman in the following words:

"India's manpower and material resources.... must be recognised.... Without India's support the British positions might have been untenable in the last war. In another war the American-British position because of their weak manpower strength would be even worse."

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INDIA TO-DAY

Mr. Loy Henderson at New Delhi

ALMOST in every notable happening in India's Capital these days there is a hand discernible. It is the hand of a master intriguer, who has the support of influential circles inside and outside the Government and has unlimited resources at his disposal.

Nearly two years ago, in early 1949, the Tass News Agency of the U.S.S.R. in India published a book, called "*The Truth About the American Diplomats*" by Annabelle Bucar. A Connaught Circus pavement bookshop displayed the book along with numerous other publications ranging from books by Kathleen Norris, O. Henry and others to Moscow editions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. A rather flashily dressed

American passed that way and looked attentively at Bucar's book and put it aside. The Sardar who owned the bookshop, consistent with the usually obliging methods of the Connaught Circus shopkeepers, thought that the Sahib has not liked that book on America and so showed him another volume, this time an American publication, entitled "*1,000 Americans*" by George Seldes, which incidentally is a thorough exposure of the supposed freedom of the press in America. This, somehow, infuriated the representative of the "American Way of Life". He became wild. "How can you sell such trash?" he yelled. He pointed to the volumes by Marx and Lenin and demanded an explanation from the poor Sardar: "How can you sell these? Is there nobody to arrest you?"

It transpired that Mr. Loy Henderson had just then arrived in New Delhi as the U. S. Ambassador to India and was much irritated by his exposure through the timely publication by the TASS of Annabelle Bucar's book which, no doubt, had a very successful sale in the capital. The Yankee, who got so angry, was one of the host of attaches and officers who had accompanied Loy Henderson to India and whose numbers have since increased in geometric progression, so that today they have come to occupy more than three pages of the Delhi District Telephone Directory!

What is significant, however, is that this minion of Loy Henderson questioned the right of an Indian national to sell works by Marx and Lenin and wondered why the shopkeeper

had not been arrested! Later developments revealed that the prime object of this and the other American 'diplomats' headed by Loy Henderson himself, in coming to India was nothing but to interfere in India's internal affairs, to make the Nehru Government fall in line with the designs and the requirements of the war-mongering American big business.

What has been Henderson's *modus operandi* for the achievement of this object? The solution to this question would be found in the personality of the man himself.

Long, long ago, on the outbreak of World War I, Henderson, who then was a young man of military age, sought refuge in the Red Cross and avoided conscription. "The doors of the Red Cross were wide open to certain young men with excellent connections who for one reason or another, most often cowardice, did not want to fight. And as a Red

Cross worker, Henderson made his first acquaintance with the young Soviet Republic and immediately realised that in the months and years to come Communist-baiting would pay rich dividends and that the U. S. Government institutions would be in continuous need of "Russian" or rather "anti-Russian" specialists.

Of these 'specialists' who have been a legion, it can be safely said that, they have among other things, specialised in the art of discovering the 'menace' of Communism in all possible nooks and corners of the earth and thus utilise the fears of the big business to get profitable assignments and jobs.

Soon after his early days with the Red Cross, Loy Henderson joined the U. S. Foreign Service and was sent to the Baltic States where his work was directly related to the Soviet affairs. Before the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R., in 1933, the U. S. State Department recalled him to Washington where he laid the ground-work of the organisation which handled Soviet-American relations and which has since become the Division of East European Affairs. Soon after that he went to Moscow along with his associates and disciples whom he had indoctrinated in anti Sovietism; and under the close direction of Loy Henderson the entire U. S. Embassy establishment in the Soviet capital became a branch of the notorious O.S.S. (the basic American Intelligence organisation).

After he had got this system under way, Henderson went back to Washington in 1938 and remained there till 1943 as the Assistant Chief of the Division of East Euro-

by

'Vinayak'

IT AIN'T CRICKET

T. C. SIMMONS, a west coast journalist has unearthed a vast international plot that involves the Soviet Union. He got his scoop from Paris and Brussels, and it concerns "international intrigue and skulduggery." The cast of characters, according to Simmons, includes "a sinister Egyptian agent, an American foreign correspondent, a presumably stalwart General Motors official and, lurking in the background, the grim figure of Premier Joseph Vissarionovich Dzugashvili (Stalin).

Are we ready for the astounding details? Here goes: *"At a recent Brussels motor show the star proved to be the Moskovich, a Russian-built six-passenger sedan selling at \$980."*

* * *

AS IF THIS were not enough, Simmons also revealed another awful fact, made available to him by the superior detective work of Theodore H. White, Overseas News Agency correspondent. White made known that the Soviet Union is now offering, on the international market, the Olympia typewriters, "a handsome, blackcased job with keys of dark maroon, a dove grey body, and with margin releases and sets, shifts, and complex spacing and guiding equipment."

The price of the Olympia is only \$25.

* * *

IS THERE no limit to Soviet perfidy? What intrigue! What skulduggery! As Simmons says: "There's nothing like competition to keep the West's industrial machine running properly but this super clut-cat game of the USSR just isn't the kind of cricket western entrepreneurs care to play."

Yes, yes, the western "entrepreneurs" are rather upset about this whole business. Competition is all right in its place, where you can either control it or eliminate it. But when you have to start competing with the East, in those areas where capitalism doesn't have quite the reputation it used to, it's not cricket.

Above all, we must play cricket! We must demand our right to pay \$3,000 instead of \$980 for an auto! We refuse

pean Affairs. Burning with hatred against the U. S. S. R., his wishes had the better of his reason at the time of the German attack on the U. S. S. R., and he advised Roosevelt that Germany would overrun Russia in a few weeks and, therefore, no closer ties need be established with the Soviets in spite of the very obvious common interests of the U. S. S. R., and the U. S. A., in the war against Germany.

Henderson's magic lamp

Roosevelt, however, soon realised that Henderson was working to sabotage cooperation between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. and so he had him removed from the key position in the State Department and sent to Baghdad as the United States Minister in Iraq. But the trick which had helped Loy Henderson to build his career earlier came handy once again. In the words of Annabelle Bucar: "Henderson, however, is never at a loss. He has a ready answer to everything. Having come to the home of the Arabian Nights he, like Aladdin, pulled out his personal magic lamp. Presto, there appeared a genie. Henderson's discovery in Iraq was the same discovery he had made elsewhere—the red menace".

And his discovery of the 'Communist menace' in Baghdad and the Middle East so endeared him to the State Department that he was recalled and made the Head of the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs.

Roosevelt died, Truman stepped in his place. Came 1945. Just two days before the Soviet Union went to war with Japan, Truman decided to drop the first atom bomb on Hiroshima, a decision which the world-famous British Atomic Scientist Professor Blackett has suggested, was "not so much the last military act of the second world war, as the first act of the cold diplomatic war with Russia." Big events were taking place in India. From the Middle East to India is but a short distance and as the Head of the Division for Middle Eastern Affairs in the U. S. State Department, Loy Henderson's discerning eyes soon perceived the growing 'red menace' in that vast country. To make the new set-up in India fall in line with the global strategy of the U. S. Military staff, now, became the chief concern of this careerist. And so this man, Loy Henderson, came to India.

to surrender the privilege of paying \$125 for a typewriter instead of \$25! We are cricketers!

If we weaken, we are liable to find ourselves at the mercy of a "sinister Egyptian agent," and I do not mean Orson Welles. This "sinister Egyptian agent" to whom Simmons referred is an Egyptian business man who offered a French importer 20,000 Olympia typewriters at \$25 each. Had he offered the French importer 20,000 Corona typewriters at \$125 each. I assure you he would not have been at all sinister.

* * *

TO BRING PRICES within the reach of the people is not cricket. It isn't football. It isn't baseball. It's just one aspect of socialism.

(Ted Tinsley writing in the *Daily Worker*, New York, on Tuesday, February 27, 1951)

In his new surroundings Henderson was not without friends. The Shridharanis (of "My India, My America" fame), the Masanis, the Rangas and others of the clan of "Washington Patriots" were already active. Henderson, to his amazement and pleasure, found a very large number of 'top' Indian politicians who were almost as concerned, if not more, at the growing 'red menace' as he himself was. Though possessing an unusual talent for personal intrigue, Mr. Henderson has an exterior which belies this talent and leads those who do not know him intimately to consider him an honest and frank human being. And so with the Shridharanis and the Masanis, with the sympathetic 'top' politicians, and with his own capacity for double-talk, Loy Henderson soon became the leading foreign diplomat in the Capital, who could at any time pick up the phone and fix appointments with any Minister or official of the Government of India.

The 'teas' at Birlaji's

And soon enough the court-circulars of the then Governor-General, His Excellency Sjt. C. Rajagopalchari began to announce more and more frequent audiences with Loy Henderson. It transpired that the U.S. State Department gradually got more and more impressed by the 'wisdom' of Rajaji and Henderson received an increasing number of State Department requests for Rajaji's advice and guidance on questions connected with the South-East Asian and Far Eastern Affairs!

But a lot went on behind the scenes of which people generally have no knowledge. Birlaji also became very friendly with Henderson and after that it was the easiest thing for Henderson to get an audience with any Congress leader through Birlaji's good offices. An invitation to tea at Birlaji's palace would be something which no Congress leader could refuse and at the tea-table would invariably be found Birlaji's American 'friend' to talk things over. Specially frequent and numerous were the friendly chats between Birlaji, Loy Henderson and the then Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

In his public pronouncements the American Ambassador was never tired of expressing the profound solicitude of the United States for India. Time and again he harped on the Fulbright Act, the Smith-Mundt Act and the 'Point Four' legislation. Explaining that the purpose of the first two acts was to promote better understanding between the people of the United States and those of India, Henderson

announced at Roorkee on November 25, 1950 that "almost 100 Indian and American nationals will be making use of those funds by the end of this year. Over 60 Indian students and professors have already left for the United States with the assistance of the Fulbright rupee funds and the dollar funds provided by the Smith-Mundt Act". He further added: "The two programmes combined might enable a total exchange of over 300 persons in 1951, and about 75 Americans are expected to come to India."

This, then, became the method by which the U.S. Embassy Staff, studded with the O.S.S. Agents, came in touch with young

Modesty!

AMERICAN IMPERIALIST CREDO

The following is taken from an editorial which appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* on October 2, 1950, headlined: "*It's no time for us to be Modest*"

"The United States has won another war—that, in naked simplicity is the matter which confronts our leaders in the associated fields of diplomacy, economics, philosophy and armed might.

"Despite the fiction of carrying out a U. N. police action, we have a clearer claim to write our own ticket than in 1918 or even in 1945. For we have not only become the mightiest of military nations, we also stand as the fountainhead of the world's diplomatic leadership, of the world's wealth and even of the world's thought.

"Who else dominates the seven seas and air above them? Whose diplomats control every positive move of the 57-member United Nations and the left-out nations, such as Germany, Japan and Spain? Where is there a continent or even an island which is not on our aims list? And what else, except made-in-American democracy, is the over-riding philosophy and aspiration of the known universe?

"It is not a time to be modest... Somebody's got to be boss ... What are we waiting for?"

Indian University students and their guardians. Boys of 'respectable' families were selected for studies in America where the more 'reliable' ones are being trained for 'more reliable' work! Through the same medium American O.S.S. agents are coming to India and settling down at all sorts of places for their 'studies' and for doing 'fundamental research'. In reality, these gentlemen are mapping out India for any future contingency.

Network of American agents

As to how widespread exactly is the network of American agents in India at present, it is difficult to say. But that it is considerably wide, that it has corroded the highest civilian in the New Delhi Secretariat, that there is hardly anything regarding our armed forces which the Americans are not aware of, and that even the Cabinet discussions and secrets leak out to them are things which are now the subject of everyday gossip in the New Delhi society.

Our American 'friends', it seems, have been collecting most detailed information about the Trade Unions and the different political parties in the country. A well-informed journalist friend of the author of this article went so far as to say that the Americans have in their records a *complete list* of the members of the Communist Party of India upto the level of the District Committees.

Recently there was the story of the Food Cable by 43 members of the Indian Parliament and it is now well-known that the draft of the cable was prepared by none else than Mr. Loy Henderson and that the Food Minister Munshi was fully aware of this fact.

Even more recent was the so-called Congress for Cultural Freedom at Bombay where under the patronage of Ministers Munshi and Ambedkar and of the leaders of the Indian Socialist Party, notorious agents of the American State Department like Burnham, Spender and Norman Thomas misused Indian hospitality by spitting venom against the Peace Policy of the Nehru Government and abused and slandered the Indian Communists and the Soviet Union to their hearts' content. That Mr. Loy Henderson's hand and the Carnegie Trust's funds were behind this Conference, is an open secret.

Henderson's conquest of Indian Press

Some people have described these as the greatest successes hitherto achieved by Henderson in India. However, in the opinion of more competent observers, *Henderson's greatest success lies in his conquest of the Indian press.* As the New Delhi Correspondent of a contemporary

has written: "*The Indian Press directly or indirectly is becoming the mouth-piece of America*".

It is not very difficult to understand the anxiety of the Indian Press Barons to establish closest possible links with the Americans. We have already referred to the close friendship between Henderson and Birlaji. Recently the Goenka-Deshbandhu Gupta combine has also joined hands with the Americans. Deshbandhu Gupta's "*Indian News Chronicle*", which has on its staff a swaggering young fellow who has just returned after a course of training, in U.S.A., is openly pro-American. The same press is now printing "*The American Reporter*", the propaganda-rag of the American Embassy at Delhi. A Hindi weekly of the same name has also made its appearance recently for which nearly a dozen Hindi journalists have been employed on rather strikingly high salaries.

And now Dalmia's papers have also begun to play the American tune. The dramatic exit of Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, prominent for his pro-Soviet and pro-China views and an active participant in the Peace Movement, from the editorship of Delhi "*Times of India*" has been a necessary sequel of the new alignment.

The list of the 'American' papers in India, however, will not be complete without mentioning the weekly "*Thought*" of Delhi which, it is reported, does not sell much and carries no advertisements worth the name, but still manages to pay very high salaries to the "intellectuals of Royist inclinations" employed on its staff. It is widely known in the newspaper world that "*Iplies*" is entirely dependent upon its American friends. It might also be mentioned that it was "*Thought*" which took the lead in organising that blatantly pro-American propaganda show called the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Prior to the establishment of the U. S. Embassy in Moscow in 1933, Loy Henderson had selected a group of 'smart' young men for being trained as Russian experts. One of these, George F. Kennan by name, was Minister at the U.S.A. Embassy at Moscow, when the second world war ended. In his book "*Conspiracy against Peace*", the English journalist Ralph Parker records that on seeing the jubilant Moscow crowds from the Embassy window, Kennan said grimly: "They are cheering.... They think the war is over, but it is only just beginning." This man Kennan is now a Counsellor of the State Department in Washington and in the absence of Loy Henderson its

Chief Russian Expert. He wrote an article under the caption "*Is War with Russia Inevitable?*" in "*The Readers' Digest*", of March, 1950. Introducing him "*The Readers' Digest*" wrote: "As chief of the State Department's planning staff, he was responsible for the cold war plan of containing Communism in Europe and was one of the originators of the European Recovery Programme". In this article which was very widely publicised by the American Press, George Kennan laid down the strategy of American State Department. Incidentally it also reveals and explains the role of Kennan's erstwhile colleague and "guru", Loy Henderson in India.

Said Kennan: "We must continue to take an intelligent and helpful interest in the efforts of people everywhere to withstand the sort of pressures which are brought to bear against them from the Moscow Communist side. It means that we must continue the policy of throwing our weight into the balance wherever there are relatively good chances that it will be effective in preventing the further expansion of the power of international Communism."

Tandon's statement about Tibet

And so it was that when in January last Pandit Nehru refused to beat the war-drum following the march in certain eastern parts of Tibet by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Loy Henderson, out to throw his weight into the balance, quickly arranged a meeting over the usual tea at Birla's New Delhi House with Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, the Congress President. And two days later Tandonji came out with a statement repudiating all his previous protestations of friendship with China (e.g., in his Presidential address at the Nasik Session of the Congress) and roundly condemned China's new regime. The "good chances" were further extended. Henderson's good boy Masani gave Tandonji a heap of propaganda pamphlets on Korea and did his best to make the old man come out openly against Nehru's policy of peace.

Contacts with R. S. S. and Hindu Sabha

The other day a very old and leading Gandhite Congress leader of Uttar Pradesh was telling me that he had come to know from very reliable sources that Loy Henderson had already succeeded in establishing 'necessary contacts' with certain sections of the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S. S. leaderships. Some of the leaders of these two organisations have already met Henderson and they hope to receive lavish help from him. It will not be very surprising if Dr. Shyamaprosad

Mukerji's new party also proves to be a product of the same confabulations.

The above-mentioned Gandhite Congress leader then said with real feeling that what was troubling him even more than this news about the R.S.S. and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders was the fact that even the Socialist leaders like Jai Prakash Narain and Asoka Mehta were following in the footsteps of Masani and Munshi.

And with the Socialists too !

The concern and the sorrow of this veteran Congress leader had been still further intensified by the news which had recently appeared in the press and which had said that the American "socialist" leader Norman Thomas had promised to secure large-scale financial help for the Indian Socialist Party. Incidentally, it might be mentioned that Mr. Norman Thomas' 'Socialist' Party can count its members on finger-tips, but it has huge funds placed at its disposal by the State Department.

Thus, Mr. Loy Henderson has thrown his net far and wide. From the R.S.S. leaders to the Socialists, from the Rangas to the Ambedkars, from the weekly rag "Thought" to the powerful and established newspaper-combines, from the Indian Government Officials to the Congress President, every vital point in the public life and the administration of our country is a target of his "activities".

Mani target—Nehru's Peace Policy

Loy Henderson's immediate objective is to defeat Nehru's Policy of Peace. Nehru's Peace Policy today has become one of the greatest obstacles in the war plans of the American imperialists. It is for this reason that America is going all out to organise its Fifth Column in India and is even manouevring to get its own candidates elected in the next general elections.

There are two prongs of the American attack on India. One is the political blackmail from outside on questions like Kashmir and the American food aid to India. The other prong is the organisation of a network of American agents inside India.

All those who want to see India develop into a really free, sovereign and economically independent republic, and who want to save India from being used as a cats-paw by the Western Imperialists for their war-plans, must be vigilant with regard to these activities of this 'guest' of ours, Mr. Loy Henderson, and must fight against them.

“Hindi-Jagat” By Amrit Rai

SRI VATSYAYAN'S CONGRESS AND HINDI WRITERS

THE recent Congress for Cultural Freedom at Bombay was remarkable for the absence from its deliberations of the cultural leaders of the country.

Its chief organizer was Shri S. H. Vatsyayan, a Hindi writer of some eminence with a sweet tongue and rather persuasive ways. With a little window-dressing and some deliciously vague phrases about “culture” and “freedom,” Shri Vatsyayan had easily succeeded in making a number of notable Hindi writers to agree to sponsor and attend his Congress.

However, with every new statement of Shri Vatsyayan, the real aims of the Chief Organizer and the powers acting from behind him, became clearer, and many—nay, almost all Hindi writers of any importance, dropped the idea of attending the Congress. Only one, *Syt. Narendra Sharma* actually attended it but only to walk out in protest against the anti-Soviet resolution moved by the organisers.

And the speeches of Minister Munshi and the American ‘guests’, as well as the resolutions passed by the Congress, removed the last lingering doubts of the Hindi writers about the real purpose of Shriyut S. H. Vatsyayan and his Congress for Cultural Freedom. I have tried to find out the views of some of the eminent Hindi writers about this either by meeting them or by correspondence. Here are the opinions of a few of them.

Rahulji's Letter

Rahulji wrote to me as follows:

I read in the papers too about the Cultural Freedom Congress, meeting in Bombay. Is it any good complaining against American Imperialists for it? It is through them that Capitalism in its death-throes is fighting for its survival! How can the good of the millions suit the palate of these age-old tyrants who have tasted blood? But the most amazing thing was the association of the Indian Socialist leaders with this Congress. Has malice rendered them altogether purblind? Is it America that is the biggest sheet-anchor of Socialism now? Do the 800 million strong Socialist countries of the Eurasian mainland compare unfavourably with America? Is it that the interests of Indian Socialism lie not with their neighbouring brothers of Eurasia but with American Imperialism? Who can doubt now that America has left no stone unturned to start the third world war that would mean the total destruction of all

culture? About those who cannot understand this, I can only say that they are either mad or they have nothing whatever to do with truth. There is only one answer to this: the unity of all the left forces and all progressive-minded people should be built up as speedily as possible.

The letter is quite eloquent and needs no comment.

Shri Ila Chandra Joshi's opinion

From the talk with Shri Sumitranandan Pant it transpired that he had agreed to sponsor the Congress because he was given to understand by S. H. Vatsyayan that it would discuss the possibilities and the ways and means of having, apart from the political and social approaches, a purely cultural approach to matters. However, the Congress, as it stands now before the world, had nothing in common with these objectives communicated to Pantji and Pantji is, indeed, very much disillusioned. He declined to say much before he had talked it over with Shri Vatsyayan; but he definitely said that he was not satisfied with this Congress since it had become a forum of anti-Soviet hate-propaganda, which was altogether uncalled for. The Congress had talked not of culture but of fighting Communism which was irrelevant. Pantji said that he for one stood for a cultural, i.e., peaceful solution of world's maladies and consequently did not believe in war. Therefore, the sabre-rattling that took place at the Congress was utterly alien to his mind.

Pantji made it plain that he stood for peace and culture and believed that war could be checked; but if war did break out, he said, we should unhesitatingly side with the Soviet.

It was in this connection that he expressed his indignation at the treatment meted out to Narendra Sharma at the Congress and said that the whole thing was very disgraceful.

Talk with Pantji

The verdict of other writers, too, was not different. For example *Syt. Ila Chandra Joshi*, till recently the editor of the illustrated weekly “Dharma Yuga”, who was at Bombay when the Congress took place, said that it was a stinking business, this Congress. He said that every one in Bombay, even the most

ignorant, knew that it was an American show. So, no decent man associated himself with it. Among the people, there was such a strong feeling against the Congress that one was afraid of attending it just as one is afraid of going to a brothel, for fear of being caught!

Joshiji said that he knew from the beginning that 'Cultural Freedom' was only a camouflage, that the Congress was really concerned with creating a cultural war-base in our country..

Joshiji had been very much pressed to join the Congress but he had frankly told the organisers of the Congress that at the moment he considered all talks of cultural freedom and the like as stuff and nonsense, that any amount of this camouflage was not going to stop the people from ushering in the Socialist order of things. He may have his differences with the Soviets, but of this he was thoroughly convinced that the Soviets had taken the first big step towards real culture in as much as they had equalised the social status of the people and had freed them from the daily cares of Hunger and Nakedness.

Therefore, Joshiji said, he stood for communism as the first step towards the liberation of man's energies for a future of limitless possibilities.

He said that if the Conference had succeeded in doing anything it was in exposing men like Jaya Prakash Narayan and Vatsyayan who now stood before the people in their true colours.

Amrit Rai is a young Marxist Hindi writer, and editor of monthly HANS. Together with another young Hindi poet, Nemi Chandra Jain he will be reporting to our readers every month on the cultural developments in the Hindi-speaking world.

Mahadeviji and Bachchanji

Smt. Mahadevi Verma and Shri Bachchan also spoke in the same vein. Mahadeviji said that she had long ago smelt a rat in it and now, of course, everything was clear as day. Bachchanji said that after the speeches made at the Congress there could not be a shadow of doubt that the Congress was American-inspired and American-financed.

All of us being Hindi writers, the sordid fact of Syt. Vatsyayan's leading role in it inevitably cropped up in our talk again and again, and here it is my duty to put on record that people in general feel about Vatsyayan that he convened this Congress because he had some axe of his own to grind. Yes, they said it.

And so that is how the Hindi intellectual world reacted to this American propaganda-show, which ended so dismally, as Auden's Gum Eliot put it, not with a bang but with a whimper.

It, however, augurs well for the camp of peace and democracy. It shows that the building up of the cultural united front in our land is on the order of the day.

[Continued from Page 2]

Editorial

people's democracy, humbly learning our lessons from all modern people's revolutions so that we all may lighten the dark recesses of our mind, renew our faith in and reforge our links with our great people and courageously and unitedly resume the march forward to final victory.

Linked as our ruling circles are with the Anglo-American imperialist circles, pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet, anti-democratic and reactionary propaganda is being freely let loose. Reaction has strengthened its grip over all the channels and sources of propaganda and popular education-Press, Radio and educational institutions. Progressive intellectuals are being starved, denied opportunities and forced to surrender to the ruling clique.

INDIA TO-DAY will revive and strengthen the national progressive tradition and ruthlessly expose all pro-imperialist, reactionary ideologies and their protagonists. INDIA TO-DAY

will help to unite all progressive cultural workers to meet the challenge of reaction, save our youth from ideological corruption and our people from demoralisation and initiate a new national cultural renaissance based on anti-imperialist democratic foundations and truly reflecting the problems of India and the world in which we live.

To start INDIA TO-DAY on our own would have been too venturesome, if not a sign of intellectual conceit. But we have been promised full cooperation by a number of eminent writers and scientists and a team of younger Marxist intellectuals as well as by a large number of the organisers of the mass movements in various parts of our country. We hope to make it a real collective effort of Indian Marxists and progressives.

With the light of Marxism to show us our path, for people's life and nation's liberty, we will make our contribution to the grand common cause of world peace and liberation.

Anglo-American Intervention in places thousands of miles from their own frontiers

KOREA

4,980 miles from the U.S.

28 million inhabitants. 79,200 square miles. The Americans opposed the unification of the country and maintained the police regime of Syngman Rhee south of the 38th parallel. There were 85,000 arrests over the last 7 months before the war began. There were 100,000 partisans in the South. In the North, the People's Republic was fulfilling the people's aspirations. The Americans provoked war and came out into open aggression against Korea where they savagely slaughtered the civilian population.

MALAYA

8,400 miles from the U.S.

5 million inhabitants. 47,200 square miles. 1,20,000 British soldiers and 70,000 police are fighting the partisans (with a £200 bonus for every partisan killed). Ganapathy, the Indian General Secretary of the Malayan trade unions, was murdered in his prison cell in Singapore and his successor was also brutally murdered by the British.

VIET-NAM

7,800 miles away from the U.S.

21 million inhabitants. 1,13,400 sq. miles. 700 billion francs have already been poured out there to keep the Viet-Nameese people in chains and to maintain bases for aggression against the Chinese people. 2,00,000 soldiers (French, African and German) are engaged in the fight to oppress the Viet-Nameese people who for the past 5 years have been carrying on an armed struggle. American military missions are being sent to Indo-China and a 50 million dollar aid has been promised.

THE PHILIPPINES

6,900 miles away from the U.S.

1,88,50,000 inhabitants. 1,07,740 sq. miles. The Americans have spent 2 billion dollars to build 23 military bases in this country which is under a regime of terrible poverty and savage repression. The Hukbalahaps (people's soldiers) have liberated the centre of Luzon which is the main island.

BURMA

10,200 miles away from the U.S.

47 million inhabitants. 2,43,967 square miles. As in Greece, the Americans are taking over from the British. The partisans have been fighting there for the past three years and have liberated 18,000 square miles of their soil. Operations against the partisans are directed by the Anglo-American military mission.

GREECE

4,200 miles from the U.S.

73,00,000, inhabitants. 47,770 sq. miles. First British, then American armed intervention to impose the monarchy on the Greek people. An incredible reign of terror is raging (Makronissos concentration camp) which has already claimed 20,000 victims.

[Continued from page no. 16]

So the simple position is as follows:—

The Anglo-American Imperialists, without active Indian aid CANNOT wage a successful world war.

India's firm stand for peace, together with the mighty U. S. S. R. and China can lay the spectre of World War III.

A Tripartite Indo-Chinese-Soviet Alliance, can successfully bury American plans for world domination, guarantee lasting peace and push the wheel of human history decisively forward and speed up liberation and every nation of democracy for the common man and pave the path towards the realisation of World Socialism when war and want will become stories from a historical past.

Such is the glorious prospect before the Indian national movement once its advanced democratic elements unite to make the Indian Peace Movement BROADER than our old national movement ever was.

Let the best from our anti-imperialist, internationalist traditions of our national movement stir the soul.

Let the shame of seeing our ancient country tied to the Imperialist chariot-wheel sting us to the quick.

Let the love for our own near and dear ones make us fight for peace and against the war-mongers.

The rest will follow.

INDIA-TO-DAY

Monopolists Fear Peace Because.....

War is the most profitable business

WAR involves death and destruction for millions of human beings, but it is a damned profitable business for a few.

Every American tank and plane operating in Korea, every bomb dropped on Korean towns and villages, mean enormous profits for the American armaments manufacturers.

Businessmen of the New York Stock-Exchange literally danced with joy when Truman announced his "state of emergency" on December 16, 1950. Commenting on this, the Associated Press, under the heading "New York Stock-Exchange Record" wrote:

"The mobilization of American economy resulted in shares on the New York Stock-Exchange going up on Monday by more than 4,800,000 dollars the highest figure in 11 years."

"Business week", the influential journal of business circles wrote on December 9, 1950:

"A short dip might have been a fair bet as long as the military build-up was jogging along at a lethargic pace. But now, the huge defence (read: War!) programme is a sharp goad on the industry."

Exorbitant prices of armaments

More will be spent on war measures in the US this year than in the entire five preceding years, and for the 1951-52 fiscal year, Truman has asked for 71 billion dollars for war purposes; that is, 74 per cent of the entire Budget!

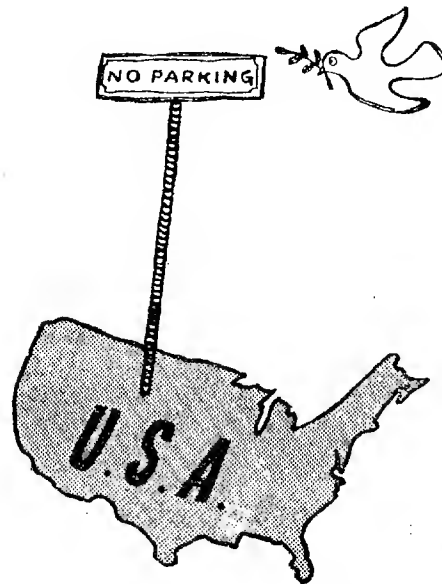
The big trusts of the war industry, of course, are reaping the benefits; no less than 60 per cent of the war Budget will be pocketed by them in

MILLIONS FOR FORD

THE Ford Motor Co. has announced that it has received an order from the US army to build an estimated 195 million dollars' worth of medium tanks at a plant to be erected in the Detroit area..

—"Brisbane Telegraph" March 7, 1951

Footnote: Henry Ford left an estate admitted to be worth 80 million dollars.



the form of payment for military orders. They are demanding an exorbitant price for their lethal products, a price far in excess of even the usual high rate. For instance:

In 1945, an automatic carbine rated 3.55 dollars whereas, today, its price is 64 dollars.

At the end of World War II, a quick-firing rifle cost 134 dollars; today, its price has gone up to 358 dollars.

The price of a machine-gun for the same period has increased from 249 to 720 dollars, and that of a heavy mortar from 590 to 1055 dollars.

The price of a truck has increased from 2,500 to 5,900 dollars, that of a 105 mm. gun from 8,300 to 13,700 dollars, that of a light tank from 39,600 to 126,000 dollars.

Huge and quick profits

From this we see how the merchants of death are raking in huge profits; their agents in the Government paying any price asked for at the expense of direct and indirect taxes imposed on the people.

The "New York Times" reported on October 27, 1950, that the General Motors Corporation realised in the first nine months of 1950 a greater net profit than was ever recorded by any American corporation in a full year.

Between June 1940 and March 1943 alone, the U.S. Government placed war orders with this firm to the sum of 8,500 million dollars, as well as orders for building at least 100 new enterprises.

War-time profits from both sides of front

DURING World War II, General Motors made a net profit of 1,253 million dollars. It netted profits on both sides of the front: in America and in Germany.

In the pre-war dollar invasion of Germany, among the enterprises which fell into the hands of General Motors was the Opel works in Russelsheim which, in addition to tanks, produced for the Hitler army enormous quantities of essential parts for the Messerschmitt, Junkers and Fokke-Wolff planes.

Right until the middle of 1941, prominent U.S. representatives of General Motors were members of the Board of the Opel Corporation.

Even after Hitler had declared war on USA, General Motors continued to collaborate with the Nazis. But, as they could not do this openly during the closing years of the war, they appointed their Danish representative (Albin D. Madsen) as their representative with Opel!

Built up Hitler's tank and air forces

ACCORDING to "Poor's Manual" (reference book on US industry) in the years when Hitler's army was being equipped, 20 million dollars of the enormous profits netted by the Opel enterprises belonging to General Motors were invested in other Nazi corporations producing armaments. Without Opel (that is, without General Motors), the Hitler tank divisions and the Hitler Luftwaffe would never have been what they were.

After the war, General Motors was able to place its representatives in key positions in the American military administration in Germany, and General Motors' Opel works are thriving again on rearmament.

Du Pont chemical trust

THE real significance of General Motors invasion of Europe must be sought in its financial tie-up with Du Pont.

This chemical trust, the biggest in the capitalist world, was intimately linked, through cartels and patent agreements, with I. G. Farben—the economic and political bulwark of the Hitler State. Du Pont controls the greater part of the shares of General Motors.

The Du Pont concern helped to arm Japan for war against China and sold to Mitsui concern patents for explosives. For years, Du Pont has been netting enormous profits from the production of atom bombs.

They make both guns and governments

It was General Motors boss Charles E. Willson whom, last December, Truman invested with dictatorial powers to mobilise the economy.

Dean G. Acheson, the American Secretary of State is a lawyer, a member of a Washington firm that is general counsel for Ethyl Corp., jointly owned by Du Pont's General Motors and Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey. He entered the State Department in 1941, and helped formulate the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact. Previously his clients had included some of the largest oil, munitions, radio and telephone corporations in the country.

John Foster Dulles, the Political Adviser to the State Department, who played a major role in starting the War in Korea, is the senior partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, of Wall Street, the most powerful of American corporation lawyers, serving Morgan and Rockefeller, and is a director of International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd. (Morgan and Rockefeller). Through Sullivan and Cromwell, he had close relations with the I. G. Farben interests in Germany, and with the German law firm of Albert and Wertheim, who handle the business of the German subsidiaries of International Telegraph and Telephone Co. (Morgan).

The Secretary of Defence, General **George C. Marshall**, who was Secretary of State from 1947 to, 49, and was the author of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, is a director of Pan-American Airways, a combination of Morgan, Rockefeller and Mellon interests.

Deputy-Secretary of Defence **Robert A. Lovett**, is a partner in the Wall Street Investment Banking firm of Brown Bros. and Harriman Co. (Morgan and Rockefeller), a director of Morgan's New York Life Insurance Co., and of the Union Pacific Railway.

Similarly, **General Douglas MacArthur**, till recently the Supreme Boss of Japan, Formosa, Philippines and the occupied portions of Korea, has wide financial and industrial interests in the Philippines and Japan.

Through these and such other agents, the big armament manufacturers in America are in a position to directly influence and mould the policies of the Government and they are taking good care to keep up the war-hysteria in America and the cold War in the international affairs, and are trying their worst to spread the flames of the Korean War to China.

*The Indian delegate reports
the World Women's Meet at Berlin*

WOMEN AGAINST WAR

*In the first week of February this year, 300 leading women of the world, representing over nine crores of organised women of all parts of the globe, gathered in Berlin for the meeting of the Council of the **Women's International Democratic Federation**. The Indian delegate reports the meeting to the readers of INDIA TODAY*

OUR plane touched the ground and we were in Berlin. The airport is in the British zone. A girl had come to receive me with a car which took us to the Eastern Zone. I had expected that the border of the two zones would be very heavily guarded. All the P.T.I.-Reuter reports appearing in the Indian newspapers had always represented Berlin as a veritable powder-keg which would burst into flames at the first spark. So, I was, naturally, rather surprised to find only three or four policemen guarding the border and checking the people going to the Eastern Zone—a scene which was in no way different from what is an everyday sight at the Bandra or Mahim causeway in Bombay where policemen make a routine check-up of all traffic.

A city of ruins

Berlin has been a city famous for its magnificent buildings and fine roads. But now it is a heartrending sight. From the Brandenburg Gate to the Potsdamer Platz, from the shell of the Reichstag to the razed earth of the former Chancellory, on every side of the Unter der Linden there is an endless panorama of ruins. The people and the government of Eastern Germany are devoting all their energies towards the reconstruction of their country and specially of their beloved Capital. But that is a Herculean job and one can even today see everywhere the evidence of the terrible consequences of Hitler's war for Germany. Utter chaos of debris stretches over tens of square miles and beneath that lie corpses in thousands which are still being dug up. And over the ruins one can see huge posters, pointing towards the debris, saying: "Look at this destruction! This is what war means!"



The arrangements for our stay had been made in the biggest hotel of the city which had central heating that kept us warm even in the severe winter of February. And every night when we came back from the meeting there were always some surprise gifts waiting for us in the room—apples, chocolates, sweets and sometimes even a packet of cigarettes!

We were introduced to the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Germany, *Otto Grotewohl*. He told us that under the Hitler-regime, for many years the German people had been kept completely isolated from the democratic and peace-loving people of other countries of the world. Therefore, he said, they were very happy to welcome in their country representatives of nine crores of people from all parts of the world.

He assured us that the people of Germany, Eastern as well as Western, hated the very idea of war and were opposed to the plans of

re-militarisation of Germany. Recently there was a referendum in a big town in Western Germany on this question and over 88 per cent of the population voted against rearmament.

One elderly German lady frankly admitted that it was a very hard job to educate people who had been for years indoctrinated with the racial, chauvinistic, gangster ideas of Fascism, into democratic and peace-loving citizens. "But we have done the job", she added "and will go on doing it."

The miracle of East Germany

And from what I saw and heard in Berlin, Weimar and other parts of Eastern Germany, I could not help agreeing with the old lady. It is a real marvel that *throughout Eastern Germany you never hear or read of war*. In London, every morning the daily papers would talk about nothing else but war and would give the impression that a world war was likely to break out any moment and that most probably it would start in Germany. But in Germany itself, during my ten days' stay, I never had this fear grip my heart that the world is recklessly heading towards war.

In fact, there is now a statutory ban on any kind of war propaganda in Eastern Germany. In response to the appeal of the World Peace Congress, the Democratic Republic of Germany has enacted a law making war propaganda a cognizable and severely

punishable crime.

"Peace will conquer War", "DER FRIEDEN BESIEGT DEN KRIEG", this slogan hangs not only in all Conference halls, but over the entire Eastern Germany and was echoed and re-echoed from the throats of thousands of young, blond German girls and boys who surrounded us at every corner of the city with banners and flowers and the slogans of peace.

I met two unique women in Berlin—one was the daughter of the great *Clara Zetkin*. She is now more than sixty and does not speak English. So she just went on shaking my hand for a long time. She wanted to say something but no translator was available nearby, and I had to content myself with only a warm embrace. The other was *Rosa Thaelmann*, the widow of that great leader of the German people, *Ernst Thaelmann* who after eleven years of solitary confinement was brutally murdered by the Hitlerites on the eve of the liberation of Berlin by the Soviet Army. *Rosa Thaelmann*, also, together with her young daughter, has spent many long and terrible years in Hitler's concentration camps. Now she works in the Democratic Women's League of Germany. She gave me a copy of her message to the women of the world which I am enclosing with this letter (see at the bottom of this page—*Editor*).

From 45 countries, delegates had come

MME. THAELMANN'S MESSAGE

My dear friends,

Your visit to Berlin, the capital of Germany, for the meeting of the council of Women's International Democratic Federation, gave me particular pleasure. It is a great honour and a task of great responsibility for the German women, to carry on the fight against the war-mongers and for friendship between the peoples of the different countries of the world.

In the German Democratic Republic and in the democratic section of Berlin the anti-fascist democratic social order is being strengthened daily. Our peace-loving progressive Government under the leadership of the working class and our president *Wilhelm Pieck* and our Prime Minister *Otto Grotewohl* have put all their strength into the effort of raising the living standards of the German working people.

In the German Democratic Republic, there are *no unemployed*. We had a two-year plan which was over-fulfilled, and since January,

1951, we are working untiringly for our new Five-Year Plan under the slogan "Always ready for work and for the defence of peace!"

Untiringly we are explaining to the German women that the American imperialists are planning the same fate for the population of Western Germany which they have already inflicted upon the people of Korea. We have not forgotten the terrible nights when the Americans used to bomb our cities and towns during World War II. On February 3rd, 1945, during the course of an air attack on the living quarters of Berlin by thousands of American bombers, not less than 50,000 women and children and old and sick people were killed. That is why the progressive women and the mothers of Germany from the bottom of their hearts hate the American interventionists, who are massacring the innocent population of Korea.

The German women know and have not forgotten how the the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Bulgaria, Rumania,

to the Council meeting, from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, from U.S.A, Britain, France and Italy, from Korea, China and the countries of the Middle East.

These women belonged to different political trends and religious sects and they were from all walks of life. The simple housewife, the mill-hand, the peasant girl, the teacher, the artist and the Minister of State—here all sat together to discuss the menace of war that is hanging over the world and threatens with death every darling child of every loving mother.

The Korean Glory

There were two delegates from North Korea, *Mme. Che Den Zuk*, the North Korean Minister for Culture and a young girl of twenty years who had already gazed into the eyes of death while working as a nurse with the Korean People's Army.

Mme. Che Den Zuk in her speech said that today there were only two ways open before the people of Korea: either to defend the independence of their country against the American invaders, if necessary even with bare hands; or to become once again the slaves of a colonial power. The Korean people have chosen the first road and they shall not turn from it. The soil of suffering Korea is drenched with blood. The dead

mother with the baby clasped to her breast, the corpses of children covered with blood and mud, the women mad with grief, these are now a common sight in Korea. Millions have been rendered homeless, lacs have been done to death by American bombs, American machine-guns and American napalm-jelly. Those who escape the terror-bombings, have no food to eat, no clothes to put on and no house to take shelter in. "But", said *Mme. Che Den Zuk*, "the Korean people—men and women alike—are fighting and will continue to fight even as the people of Soviet Union fought against the Hitlerite invaders."

Zoya, the martyr Heroine of the Soviet Union has inspired many Korean girls to follow her example. The Secretary of the Korean Women's Democratic League *Kim Ran Ok* was arrested by the Syngman Rhee traitors. They ordered her to shout "Long live *Syngman Rhee*!" She replied "No, *Rhee* is a traitor to Korea. Long live the beloved leader of the people, *Kim Ir Sen*."! And she died shouting these words.

In the Kumor mountains, *Kan Gur Sun*, the famous partisan girl single-handed killed 30 enemy soldiers and enabled her partisan unit to break out of enemy encirclement.

Addressing herself to the American and English women, *Mme. Che Den Zuk* said:

and many other countries have suffered from the German Fascist bandits.

The best sons and daughters of the German people also suffered torture and death in the concentration camps and prisons of the same gang. We owe eternal thanks to the brave Soviet Army which liberated us from fascism by sacrificing millions of its heroic soldiers. It was the brave sons of the Soviet-land who liberated my daughter *Irma* and myself from the concentration camp of Ravensbrücke.

Ernst Thaelmann, my comrade and the father of my daughter *Irma*, after eleven years of solitary confinement, was murdered by the fascists shortly before our liberation by the Red Army. In his spirit, my daughter and I work in the million strong organisation of the D. F. D. (Democratic Women's League of Germany) and try to do our share in the rebuilding of a united and democratic Germany.

I have time and again spoken to the workers of the German Democratic Republic in large

factories like the Maxhutte about our friendship for the Soviet Union and for the people of the People's Democracies, about the vital need for the German people to recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier as the peace frontier between the Polish and the German peoples.

Our youth, which is organised in the *Free German Youth* works and studies in the spirit of *Ernst Thaelmann* and of the millions of fighters for freedom who had to sacrifice their lives in the fight against Fascism.

The heroic Soviet women, the heroic women of Korea and China and the brave partisans of peace in Italy and France are an example for us and an inspiration which drives us to achieve even more, to unmask the warmongers and to safeguard peace for all people.

The representatives of the nations present at this meeting, have given us heartening words. Deeply moved, I thank them all for this deep experience and I vow that I shall put all my strength into the fight for peace.

Rosa Thaelmann

✱

MAY, 1951

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"You must know the evil things that your husbands and brothers are doing in Korea. Realise that you too bear the responsibility for the murder of laes of completely innocent people. And do not belive that bombs will continue to fall on the Asian cities and you will be safe in New York and London, that the towns and villages of America will never have to endure what the towns and villages of our country are suffering today. If you want your children to be spared the horrors of war, fight! Fight now, to end this dirty, senseless war in Korea. Fight to stop your sons, brothers and husbands from being sent to death in distant Korea."

The assembled delcagates and the German mothers and daughters listened to the representative of the Korean women with tears in their eyes, and each one of us vowed within her heart to go back to her country and tell every woman the tragic but heroic story of Korea.

Soviet delegate speaks

The Soviet delegate Perfenova warned the delegates that the American Imperialists having suffered a fiasco in Korea were hastily preparing to kindle a new war in Europe and were re-militarising Western Germany, planning to use German people as their cannonfodder.

"In U. S. A." she said, "the heads of the administration, the generals of the army and some journalists and editors are openly calling for Moscow, Leningrad and Baku to be atom-bombed. But in my country, in the Soviet Union, the teachers are teaching children that besides the America of Truman and MacArthur, there is also an America which gave Abraham Lincoln and Fredrick Roosevelt to the world, the America of Paul Robeson and Howard Fast and of the American fighters for Peace and against the war in Korea. That is the difference between a peace-loving real democracy and an imperialist hot-bed of aggression."

The Hell that is Greece today

The Greek delegate charged the American war-mongers of having turned her beautiful country into a dismal place of death and desolation. She said that while in name the native Monarcho-Fascists ruled over her country, in reality Greece was already a colony of the Americans, who had established a real tyranny over the land. More than sixty thousand Greek patriots—men and women, are dying a slow death in the notorious Makronissos and other concentration camps and prisons. 510 women exiled in the barren

island of Trikeri are living in the open, exposed to cold, rain and terrible winter storms. In the prison of Averof 760 women patriots are undergoing unheard of torments. Amongst them, 12 are condemned to death including a ninety years old grandmother who has already given 3 sons to the Freedom movement of her country.

But the women of Greece are resolutely struggling for Peace and indepenence of their country. One of the women while signing the Stockholm Peace Appeal has written:

"I sign because of the martyrdom and humiliation suffered by my people. I sign because of my negro brothers who are being flogged, lynched and put to the electric chair in America. I sign because of my yellow brothers of Korea whose father-land is being trampled upon by the boots of the invaders; because of Seoul I sign the Stockholm appeal."

There were many other speeches and reports by the delegates from various countries and innumerable messages from Women's organisations and distinguished women, including the famous La Passionaria of Spain, Mme. Dolores Ibarurry and Mme. Cotton of France.

The Call to the Governments

After considerable discussions inside the various Commissions the Council unanimously passed a resolution addressed to the women of the world calling upon them to compel the Governments of their respective countries

- (1) to enact laws banning war propaganda in any form;
- (2) to stop spending billions on armaments and use that money for increasing social amenities;
- (3) to act for immediate cessation of the war in Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from there;
- (4) to act for stopping the remilitarisation of Germany;
- (5) to stop the persecution of the defenders of Peace.

The second resolution was about the need of strengthening and broadening the movement for the defence of children and gave a call for the widest possible celebration of an International Children's Day in 1951.

The other resolutions were about the task of building the unity of various women's organisations, the fight against remilitarisation of Germany, and the Peace Movement.

The Indian delegation fully participated in the discussions. The leading members of the Council impressed upon the Indian delegates the great and urgent need of Indian

Women's organisations formally joining the International movement.

After the meeting was over, the delegates dispersed into several groups to tour different parts of Eastern Germany. I went to Weimar. The warm and friendly welcome that we received at every small village and town on our way was too wonderful to be described. In Turania where we had gone to see the Steel Factory and the Wilhelm Pieck Nylon Factory, the Premier (the Minister-President, as he is called in Germany) of Turania himself welcomed us and gave us a dinner, where I was given a seat next to him, because, as they said, India was such an important and great country.

The Premier talked to me—an ordinary girl from India just like a friend and a comrade. He told me that he was a son of the working class and had escaped death ten times and

that he regretted very much that he did not know English and, therefore, could not talk directly to the representative of a great country like India.

When I left Germany I was loaded with all sorts of presents—two big dolls, a beautiful glass flower vase, a broach, a pair of bracelets, a chain, numerous books and albums and plenty of sweets and chocolates and so many kisses of German women and children.

I went to Berlin with a number of prejudices against the Germans. But I found that the common people everywhere are the same—friendly, peace-loving and affectionate. And I returned with a deep affection in my heart for the German women and men. May be some day we shall be able to build a strong women's movement in our country and invite the German women here.



The Indian Medical Unit in Korea

FACTS

YOU OUGHT TO KNOW

INTENSITY OF THE BOMBING

The American General Emmeth O'Donnel, before leaving Tokyo for the United States, declared on January 18 that U.S. Air Forces had dropped over Korea 43,000 tons of bombs with "maximum results".

43,000 tons since June 25, last year, that is, in 7 months! This is 3,000 more tons than were dropped over Germany in the whole of 1942, and Germany is three times as big as Korea.

That is, bombing in Korea has been five times as intense as that of Germany in 1942.

THESE ARE American STATISTICS

US Fifth Air Force statistics give the following provisional summary of civilian casualties by the action of the Force: 250,000 dead, 200,000 wounded, 300,000 missing. Refugees from bombardment: 3,000,000 up till December.

WONZU

On January 17, the Newspaper *Le Monde* of Paris published following despatch of an American Agency, the United Press:

"Before the withdrawal, every house in Wonzu was burnt down, every bridge blown up, every scrap of food rendered unfit for consumption. Patrols went out into the surrounding countryside to set fire to the huts and haystacks. Roads and fields were mined. Then, after the town had been evacuated and the last bridge blown up, artillery and aircraft joined up.

"Today, Wonzu is razed to the ground. Not one section of a wall is left standing to shelter the enemy. And within a radius of several miles the earth and the hillside where shells and bombs have dug innumerable holes make the picture of a pockmarked face."

BETWEEN SUWON AND SEOUL

Newspaperman Henri De Turenne wrote from the Korean front to the French newspaper *Le Figaro* as follows:

"The icy plain between Suwon and Seoul is completely deserted and all the towns are razed to the ground. Suwon, the only town in the peninsula with any pretensions to beauty, a kind of Carcassonne, completely walled, with towers and gates eight centuries old, looks today like an empty box. Inside the walls there is nothing left but a carpet of ashes; the inhabitants, some hundred thousand of them, have disappeared. All along the road to Seoul, through the frozen paddy-fields that, from a distance look like the compartments of an ice-

[Continued on the opposite Page]

President Truman Says:

"The principles for which we are fighting in Korea are right and just."

Message to Congress, January 8, 1951.

But Korean women say:

Dear Friends,

You who desire peace throughout the world and a happy future for humanity; you who nurture the flame of protest against all injustice, source of unhappiness and suffering for humanity, it is to you that we address this message from our deserted ruins, where the winter lashes the body and chilly blizzard relentlessly pierces the thin clothing. Our peaceful life has been blasted by the bursts of countless American shells....

The roads are choked with the numberless corpses of our brothers and sisters. In the cities, most of the theatres, clubs and other cultural institutions have been destroyed and burned by American bombs.

But it is not only the towns and villages that have been destroyed; the barbarians drop their incendiary bombs and flaming liquid even in sparsely populated places; here an isolated house on a mountain path, there a whole forest is put to flames. Hardly a human shadow can be found in the streets; in the villages the crowing of the rooster and the barking of the dogs are no longer heard. Now instead of peaceful family gatherings and songs of work and construction, the roaring flame of the people's wrath is heard, everywhere are heard the people's maledictions, everywhere the people's eyes gleam with burning hatred and the desire for vengeance.

Korea can no longer be studied on the maps and in the books which depicted and described our country six months ago. Where towns and villages were marked on the maps, no trace remains; here stood a house, it is no more; here were a garden and a forest, they are no more. Only the mountain ranges and the river beds remain for ever; but so does the unshakeable will of the Korean people to fight for its liberty and independence.

The targets on which the American planes have been dropping their bombs since the very beginning of the war, and on which they have loosed their guns, are not the trenches, or the artillery emplacements of

our army, the barracks, and military convoys, but children's schools, hospitals crowded with the sick, churches, theatres, and cottages on the banks of limited streams or in lonely places in the mountains. They have aimed their flaming liquid and their incendiary bombs at infants weeping at the breast of their dead mothers, at young brides bewailing with hot tears their husbands who will never return, at aged mothers hoping day after day for the return of their beloved sons.....

It was when we reached the highest mountain peaks that we saw the most terrible scenes. None of us could imagine that mankind could attain such degradation. We are convinced that this was the work not of the hand of man, but rather of the claws of a beast in human form.

We saw a baby, who with tiny hands grasped the breast of his dead mother, and vainly tried to suck nourishment therefrom. How could the baby know that his mother had been killed, that the life-giving milk would no longer flow from her breast? This child was the only human being left alive out of 700 of our brothers and sisters shot by the American monsters on the mountain of Chupkhennen.

Not far from Chupkhennen, in the valley of Endon, we came upon a place where the Americans had shot 200 young school girls; in a pine forest, on the banks of a little stream, were spread in disorder the bathing-shoes worn by the children during their physical-culture period. It seemed to us that we could see the young girls falling beneath the enemy bullets; we could hear their last cries, could hear them as they cursed their executioners. The bodies of the young girls were taken away after they had been murdered, but their shoes remained behind, scattered on the grass.

In a little village of Savori, a province north of Pyeng Yang, in only a few days the Americans and the Syngman Rhee troops killed about half of the inhabitants. Before they shot her, an aged Korean woman vented her wrath on the enemy: "Monsters! You will be wiped out, without fail." Such curses are heard wherever the American and the Syngman Rhee brigands go. The air is filled also with the groans and the curses of our sisters violated by the Americans and their Korean mercenaries. Many of our sisters could not bear the shame inflicted on them; such was their hatred of the enemy that they committed suicide....

FACTS.....

[Continued from the opposite page]

box, I saw two hundred Koreans. They were in groups of about ten peasants, burying at the roadside heaps of corpses frozen into tragically grotesque attitudes, pell-mell, women, men and soldiers killed by aircraft.

"About ten kilometres north-west of Suwon, an American battalion had started to attack a hill position held battered held by the North Koreans. As usual, the artillery had battered the hill for half an hour before, but when the infantry went in they were greeted with machine-gun fire. The battalion commander then asked more artillery support, and called in the air force.

"For one hour, after the thundering artillery, jets dosed the hill with napalm and rockets.

"I'll be damned if anything's left alive," said a correspondent who arrived at that moment."

* * *

SAVE ME FROM THIS LIBERATION

"Two days before Christmas she announced that she was going to Pusan.

"She would have to ride for the best part of a week perched dangerously on top of an overloaded truck, with no protection against the biting, sub-zero wind.

"Surely it would have been better to have stayed behind. The Communists wouldn't do anything to her...

"We didn't understand, she explained. It wasn't the Communists she was afraid of. She had stayed behind before.

"What made her sell up her home and join the refugees was the dread of being bombed again by the United Nations."

(The British journalist Bernard Wicksteed, describing his talk with a Korean refugee from Seoul in the *Daily Express*)

* * *

BRUTE

The newspaper ABC of Madrid in its issue of December 20, quotes the American general of the 3rd. Division in Korea referring to China thus:

"After all a million people die of hunger every year, and those left have difficulty in finding a living. What difference is there between a million dead from hunger, and another million killed by bullets?"

This brute has NOT yet been sacked by Truman.

* * *

CIVILISED!

U. S. flyers in Korea now carry sewn on their backs a small American flag with the following inscription in four languages (Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Filipino):

"Belonging to a civilised nation which has always carefully respected laws of humanity, I demand the protection of International Red Cross Geneva ruling. Thank you."

Krishan Chandar

Peace In Our Time

The Indian peace movement is a recent growth and it has got nothing to do with the old peace movement which was mainly confined to one political party and its close associates and friends. It was a very exclusive movement; it had a very exclusive growth and ultimately it died of its own exclusion.

The new peace movement seeking to avoid the mistakes of the past has a more comprehensive understanding of the issues at stake. Slowly it is acquiring shape, strength and vitality. Slowly it is rising from a nebulous mass of vague longings for Peace and growing into a distinctly autonomous political movement having firm national roots. Today it covers within its wide sweeping arch, elements from extreme right to extreme left, industrialists, Congressmen, Theocrats, Socialists, Forward Blocists, Communists, intellectuals, scientists, doctors, non-Party, non-Political men and women from diverse faiths, religions and races. More than 25 lacs of people have signed its Peace pledges at one time or another.

Three thousand years' tradition

All this has been achieved within the incredibly short period of one year, without any governmental backing, without the whole-hearted cooperation of any political party or parties who could make 'Peace', the centre of their programme, a shining testament of their faith and glory. However, *the struggle for Peace does not wait for anybody: the people have taken it up and it will grow.*

That the Peace movement has been able to grow in India in so short a time is not only due to our new understanding but due also to an understanding which is very, very old. From the hoary past, over the whispering galleries of a three thousand years, tradition, the voice of our ancient scholars, prophets and men of Peace comes to us in words of clear crystal-like, luminous wisdom.

The Indian Peace tradition is a very real, genuine tradition. It is not that India did not have wars and warriors in the past or that the

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Rajput glory of battle was not appreciated by our people. The difference lies in an almost universal abhorrence of war and having Peace somehow, even at the cost of some compromise. The dif-

ference lies in the fact that Ashok is a greater hero to us than Maharana Pratap, Buddha infinitely greater than Shankaracharya, Akbar more beloved than Aurangzeb. All our great heroes are heroes of Peace. We do not boast of having a Halaku, Chengiz Khan, Timarlane or Hitler within the last 5,000 years of our organised social existence. Unlike the imperialists, we did not first send the priest and then the soldier abroad. We first sent the priest, and then the priest and then again the priest. That has been our tradition.

Those who struggle for Peace in this country, those who go to the people with a message of Peace, must recall to their mind and to the mind of the people our glorious peace-loving heritage. They should recall Krishna's valiant struggle for Peace before the battle of Mahabharata: his even-to-the-last minute attempts to seat Kauravas and Pandavas at a round table to thrash out the issues and come to a pact of peace. I think someone should translate those chapters and dramatise them for the modern stage. In the new context of things, those old ancient truths will gleam with new meaning. They will convince many not only with the humanity of Peace, but also with the Politics of Peace, for Krishna was a great politician as well as a great prophet.

Collecting point of all humanity

A peaceful tradition is a great incentive to Peace. But it has its limitations. For the demand of Peace is independent of our tradition, religion and philosophy, though they may all help to build a climate of Peace in our country, the real demand of Peace is a rational, objective reality, arising out of the fact that to-day through the misuse of scientific discoveries, through atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, and other death-dealing instruments of mass destruction, it is within the bounds of possi-

AFTER ATOM BOMBS . . . COFFINS!

The *Pacific Tribune* of Ottawa, Canada, reported on February 23, 1951 that "the St. Laurent Government is planning to manufacture collapsible, easily-stored fibre-board coffins for distribution to urban centres likely to be bomb-targets in event of war. As an added gesture to culture, the National Research Council has developed a spray to give the coffins a velvet appearance. The cost will be approximately \$5 each."

That is, after making atom-bombs, now they are making coffins !

bility—nay, it is a probable certainty that the entire mankind can be wiped out, the entire earth reduced to a wasteland and its atmosphere surcharged with poisonous radio-active elements. This is not a mad man's dream or fantasy. Its horror in all its naked truth and brutality has been admitted by such eminent scientists as Einstein, Joliot-Curie and many others.

Faced with such prospects of destruction and annihilation, Peace becomes the collecting point of all humanity to save itself from a few individuals and groups of individuals who seek profit from death and war.

First we must live

And since Peace is the collecting point of diverse political elements, reactionaries as well as progressives, Communists as well as Gandhi-ites; Peace becomes neutral to all political issues except those of Peace and War. This neutrality of Peace between various political elements within the orbit of the Peace movement is a cardinal point in issue and should always be maintained. I say this because it often happens that some persons, through their incorrect understanding, or because of their established political habits and ways of thinking, would resort to tendentious methods to give their own political colouring to the Peace movement, to channelise it into solving local, national or international problems which are really extraneous to the problems of Peace. Such methods tend to create tension within the Peace movement and restrict its growth.

Our occupation with the single problem of Peace does not mean that other problems concerning our national existence should not be solved. But there are other platforms to do so. On the issue of Peace, the neutrality of Peace must be obtained towards its various

components. This will obviate the necessity of discussing such issues as Telengana, Assam, the partition of Bengal, the Indian constitution, Vana Mahotsav, the Railway Time-table or Birth-Control—all from the same platform.

Really, Peace is the most dire necessity for mankind today. Let us not make it a joke. Capitalism is a stage in living, so is Communism. But first we must *live* to know how to live. That is why both capitalists and Communists have joined our movement on the issue of preserving world Peace. It would be dangerous to exclude one or the other. To those who say that our Peace movement contains many Communists, I would say that a peace movement which does not include Communists and allow them to play their rightful role in it would be as dangerous a movement as the peace movement which includes only Communists in it and which does not allow other elements to play their proper role in it. Rather it should be a matter of great satisfaction to us that Communists come on our platform preaching world Peace and not world war, that in answer to the tragic barbarism of a few brutal war-makers, they bring to us the finest hope of a new humanism.

But Peace is not synonymous with political slumber. It does not mean that in a given country or sector of human life various political trends and ideologies will not contend fiercely to mould human society into a particular shape. Peace does not stop that process. Rather it accelerates that process by providing a peaceful international atmosphere in which man can experiment with various ways of life and by his own efforts and understanding arrive at a higher level of living. Of living, not of Death.

Lean on the anti-imperialist sentiment

To use a Chinese saying with a slight modification, one might say that World Peace is the water in which various political fish will roam. The fish will not exist without water.

That brings me to the continuous process of liberation struggles going on on the continents of Asia and Africa against various foreign imperialisms. It is true that these foreign imperialisms denote a continuous state of aggression and war carried on by some foreign powers against the colonial nations of Asia and Africa for the last two hundred years. Two hundred years is a long time. During this time it was but natural for these colonial peoples to know

those aggressors by names, by faces, by all their dark, cruel methods. It is also natural for these people to develop an intense passionate hatred against this centuries old aggression.

Any Peace movement in colonial countries which does not take serious account of this intense overwhelming feeling of the people would be lacking in national content.

At Warsaw we took a step in that direction and I hope more attention will be paid to this aspect of things by various peace movements in colonial countries.

From Stockholm to Berlin appeal

The draft of a national appeal put forward by the Indian Preparatory Committee calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Asian soil is another step in that direction. In fact, let us hope some day we shall have a big Congress of Peace comprising of all colonial countries, in India or China, to thrash out our particular national problem of Peace.

We have travelled a long road. From *Stockholm to Berlin Appeal*. In India the step was faltering, the pace uneven, but unmistakably there have been taken big steps

towards enduring Progress. Stockholm posed the moral issue of Peace. Berlin poses the political issue, of bringing all the five great powers together to sign a *Pact of Peace*. It means asking the world of Communism and the world of capitalism, the world of People's Democracy and the world of Imperialism to give us Peace in our life-time. It does not mean the end of Imperialism, or the end of our national liberation struggles. It means in fact, the provision of water for the fish to swim in. The Peace movement has grown from the moral to the practical plane. The Berlin Peace Council decision must be widely approved in India, and the ranks of those who have signed the Stockholm Appeal, must be joined by hundreds of millions of Indians signing the Berlin Peace Appeal sure in the knowledge that the Indian people by their united will can really make war impossible, sure in their resurgent faith in their glorious tradition to march forward hand in hand with other peoples of the world, not to make a nightmare of shambles and ruins, but a rainbow of shimmering smiles, of fond lights and hopes and a great embracing of hearts all over the world.



S. S. Dhavan

Soviet Foreign Policy

A few months ago a statesman asked me the definition of a progressive person. I replied, "*Today the test of a progressive person is his attitude to the Soviet Union*".

This observation requires elucidation. Today the political world is full of conservatives, liberals, socialists, anti-socialists, capitalists, and non-descript free-thinkers of all sorts. But in international affairs, politicians and political parties are distinguishable according to their attitude to the Soviet State. Roughly speaking, they may be classified according to the following labels:

1. Soviet-baiters or Soviet-haters;
2. Soviet-lovers or huzza-men of the Soviet Government whose motto is "my Soviet, right or wrong"; and
3. Progressive-minded persons who regard the Soviet civilisation as a great progressive system, but run by mortals who are as much capable of committing mistakes and blunders as any other group of human beings.

A person may call himself a good socialist, a good communist, or a good Marxist and yet be in the anti-Soviet camp. Mr. Winston Churchill, and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia are both in the anti-Soviet camp. The realist will bear this fact in mind when judging the truth of my observation that the real test of a progressive person today is not whether he is a socialist, communist, capitalist or any other 'ist'. The real test is: What is his attitude to the Soviet State?

1.1917—50

THE foreign policy of the Soviet Union has been much misunderstood in this country. In many cases the misunderstanding is inspired by a dislike of the social philosophy which is the basis of the Soviet State; in other words, by hatred of Marxism, Bolshevism, or Socialism. But in other cases, the misunderstanding is due either to ignorance or confused thinking.

For instance, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 raised a storm of criticism in this country. Many persons—and some of them were persons whose posi-

tion entitled their opinion to respect—went so far as to say that by signing this pact with Germany the Soviet government had rendered war between Britain and Germany inevitable and were therefore to some extent morally responsible for the war. Similarly, when the Soviet-Finnish war broke out, the Soviet government was accused of imperialist aggression against a weak nation, and hostile critics said that there was no essential difference between Soviet imperialism and any other brand of imperialism. Again, some people complain that the Soviet Union has always paid lip-sympathy to the struggle of colonial countries for freedom, but in practice it maintains diplomatic and trade relations with all imperialist states. After the Soviet German war and the consequent Anglo-Soviet-military alliance, the Soviet Union was suspected of having gone over to the Anglo-American imperialist camp.

A Socialist island in a Capitalist ocean

Most of this type of criticism could be avoided if the critics remembered one or two elementary facts. The U. S. S. R. may be a Socialist state, but it is not situated in a Socialist world or in a vacuum, but in a non-socialist, Capitalist-Imperialist world order. Moreover, Soviet foreign policy is based not on abstract principles but on concrete realities including past experience. Much of the criticism directed against it displays an ignorance of history. It is impossible to understand the foreign policy of the Soviet government without a knowledge of the historical events which gave birth to the Soviet State and the attitude

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of the foreign powers to the Soviet State during the early years of its existence.

The Bolshevik Revolution took place in Russia in November 1917, when the capitalist and imperialist powers were engaged in a life and death struggle. Consequently none of the Great Powers was in a position to interfere. But Lenin warned the Bolsheviks that their immunity from foreign invasion would not last long. As soon as the two rival imperialist groups were able to patch up their quarrels -- a permanent solution of the imperialist rivalries was not possible without destruction of imperialism itself -- they would unite to fight Bolshevism. Some of his colleagues including Trotsky were inclined to pooh-pooh his warnings as unduly alarmist. But Lenin proved right. Soon after the Revolution, the armies of fourteen countries (Britain, France, America, Japan, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, and Germany etc.) invaded the Soviet Republic with the declared object of "strangling Bolshevism at the moment of its birth", as Mr. Churchill recently put it.

Lessons of Intervention and Civil War

Such an attack on a revolutionary state by a combination of foreign powers was not a unique event in history. After the great French Revolution, the other European powers invaded France to restore the Bourbon monarchy and the *ancien regime* in France. In 1871, Bismark helped the bourgeois government of France to crush the 'Commune' -- the revolutionary government set up by the people of Paris. In our own times, the Fascist governments of Germany and Italy helped the Spanish rebel Franco to destroy the Spanish Republic. Therefore the combined assault on the Soviet Republic in 1918 by a coalition of fourteen foreign powers was not surprising.

But one feature of the intervention must be noted. Germany co-operated with the powers which had just inflicted a crushing defeat on her. The enemies of yesterday became friends for the purpose of destroying Socialism in Russia. What saved the Soviet Republic was a number of factors. Most important of these was the fanatical resistance of the masses in defence of their Soviet Republic. Secondly, the conflicting interests of the Great Powers were too deep-rooted to make any co-operation possible for long. The Soviet Government took the fullest advantage of the jealousies and rivalries among their enemies. Lastly, the opposition of the working classes in imperialist countries, who had already

suffered the horrors of four years of war, to this new war against the infant Workers' Republic damped the crusading anti-Bolshevist ardour of the invading governments. The 'intervention' failed, and the Soviet Republic came out of this ordeal alive, though considerably weakened.

But the 'intervention' had a permanent effect on the foreign policy of the Soviet government. During the ordeal of Civil War and foreign invasion the Bolsheviks derived many useful lessons which were to stand them in good stead in later years. They were convinced that though the 'intervention' had been beaten off, it would be repeated. What had been gained was only a truce, or a breathing space.

The Civil War convinced Soviet statesmen that Capitalism would not tolerate for ever the existence within itself of a Socialist economy. *This conviction has been the basis of Soviet foreign policy ever since.* The broad principles of this policy were laid down by Lenin himself. These principles may be summarised as follows:

The existence of the Soviet Union may be detrimental to the interests of Capitalism as a whole, but the conflict of interests between individual capitalist states is too deep to allow any united front against the Soviet Union for any length of time. Therefore, it should be the aim of the Soviet government to take full advantage of these rivalries in order to prevent the formation of an Anti-Soviet coalition.

Utilizing Imperialist rivalries

This policy had already been pursued with advantage. When during the peace negotiations with Germany, news was received that the German armies had resumed their advance, Trotsky proposed that the Bolshevik government should ask the Allied Powers for aid against Germany. Lenin supported this proposal with the remark: "Please add my vote in favour of the receipt of support and arms from the Anglo-French Imperialist brigands". Similarly when Japan invaded Siberia, ostensibly to stamp out Bolshevism but really to annex Eastern Siberia, the Soviet government relied on the traditional policy of America to weaken Japan's position on the Asiatic mainland. In the end, American opposition forced Japan to withdraw. Again, when Britain sent her troops to the Caucasus, the Soviet government had little difficulty in persuading other Great Powers that the British aim was not to fight Communism,

but to secure the oil-fields of Baku.* During the years immediately following the Treaty of Versailles, when Germany was an outcast among the great powers in Europe, the Soviet government developed cordial relations with her for trade purposes.

The Five-Year Plans

Another great lesson which the Soviet government learnt from the "intervention" was to develop the military and industrial strength of the country as quickly as possible. *This was the genesis of the famous Five-Year Plans which transformed Soviet Russia from a backward agricultural country into the second greatest industrial country in the world.* That Soviet Russia would have been industrialised sooner or later is certain, for socialism in a primitive economy is unthinkable. But the terrific pace of the Five Year Plans and the terrible sacrifices which it entailed upon the people were dictated by the international situation. At the end of the first Five-Year Plan, Stalin said:

"It was the basic task of the Five-Year Plan to transform the U. S. S. R. from an agrarian and weak country, subservient to the caprices of capitalist countries, into a powerful industrial land, fully independent of and not subservient to the caprices of world capitalism."

This is not the place to discuss the Stalin-Trotsky controversy or to decide whether "Socialism in one country" is possible. But it is obvious to any intelligent observer that if Stalin's policy had not been adopted in 1928, the Soviet Union would not have survived the invasion of Hitler in 1941.

Peace Front and Collective Security

Another principle of Soviet foreign policy was to develop a "peace front" for the prevention of war. In all the Disarmament Conferences, the Soviet government proposed the total abolition of all armament. Their proposals were negated by all the Western powers. Moreover, the Soviet government concluded non-aggression pacts with all States bordering on her territory. (The only exception was Japan who refused to conclude any such pact). In particular, it fostered diplomatic and trade relations with Germany who had been laid low by the burdens of the Versailles Treaty. The Soviet Union was Germany's best customer

during this period and most of the heavy industry plant for the Five-Year Plan was bought in Germany. The cordial relations between Germany and the Soviet Union lasted till Hitler came to power.

The rise of Hitler is the dividing line in Soviet foreign policy. The basic principles of this policy did not change, but the rise of Nazism necessitated a change in tactics. *Nazi Germany compelled the Soviet government to seek a rapprochement with Britain and France.* From 1933 to 1939 the efforts of the Soviet government were directed towards the building up of a system of collective security in Europe against Nazi aggression. If any state was attacked anywhere in Europe, all the other states would come to her help against the aggressor. This is the principle of collective security in a nutshell, and the Soviet government made repeated efforts to create it in Europe. They joined the League of Nations with this object. But the effort failed, and in the end the Soviet government itself concluded a Neutrality Pact with Nazi Germany. In order to understand the causes of this failure, it is necessary to understand the problems created by the Treaty of Versailles after 1919, and in particular the policy of Britain and France to meet those problems.

Problems after World War I

After the Great war, the victorious Allies were faced with two great problems. The first was communism and the other was Germany. Of these two, Communism was the greater danger. For instance, consider the following remarks of a man who has left a name in history:

"The effect of the Russian problem on the Paris (Peace) Conference was profound: Paris cannot be understood without Moscow. Without ever being represented at Paris at all, the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism were powerful elements at every turn. Russia played a more vital part at Paris than Germany".

These are the words of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States and founder of the League of Nations.

In 1919, the entire continent of Europe was on the brink of a social upheaval which threatened to sweep all governments. The nations were hungry and disillusioned; the armies were tired and weary of discipline. (It was these conditions which were partly responsible for the failure of the Allies to crush the Soviet Republic). A communist government was proclaimed in Hungary in March, 1919.

*"The oil industry of Russia liberally financed and properly organised under British auspices would in itself, be a valuable asset to the Empire"—Herbert Allen, Chairman of the BIBI EBAT Oil Company, in an address to the Stockholders, December 24, 1928.

Bavaria established a Soviet government in April. In 1919, world capitalism and its statesmen lived in fear of Bolshevism. This fear dominated every move of the Allies. If Poland asked for a loan it was to defend the world against Bolshevism. If the starving population of Germany required feeding it was to save Germany from Bolshevism. A chain of small states was set up on the Baltic as buffer states against Bolshevik Russia. The major task of the League of Nations was to save the world from Bolshevism. This was problem number one.

Dilemma of the Imperialists

The second problem was Germany. The great war had revealed her colossal military strength and war potential. So she had to be curbed with a strong hand. But in this respect the Allies were in a dilemma. If Germany was treated too severely and if the burdens and restrictions imposed on her were too heavy, she might be pushed into the arms of Communism. Already in 1919 there was a revolutionary crisis in Germany. Hence care must be taken to save Germany from Bolshevism at all costs. Moreover, there was a sharp conflict of policy between Britain and France over the German problem. Britain was anxious only to render Germany harmless as a rival in the colonial and imperial fields. Hence, on her insistence, Germany was deprived of all her colonies, her entire navy and mercantile marine. But Britain wanted to preserve Germany as a great continental Power to preserve the Balance of Power against France, and also as a bulwark against the Bolshevik menace. But the French aim was to destroy Germany as a great power and to cut her up into small states. This aim was defeated by Anglo-American opposition. France, however, surrounded Germany with an iron ring of states all heavily armed and bound by a military alliance to France. The members of this alliance were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia. For many years the initiative in the matter of Germany lay with France. Britain's role was confined to holding the scales even between Germany and France.

Solution of the dilemma—Hitler

Then came Hitler.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler laid down the following policy with regard to the expansion of Germany in the future: "We, National Socialists put an end to the everlasting movement of Germans to the South and West and turn our eyes to the land in the East. We put an end to the colonial policy of pre-war times and proceed to the territorial policy of

the future. If we speak of new land in Europe today, it is primarily only of Russia and its subject border states that we can be thinking." This was the famous DRANG NACH OSTEN—the PUSH TO THE EAST.

To the Imperialist powers the rise of Hitler pointed the way to the liquidation of both problems together—Germany and Bolshevism. If Hitler wanted to push towards the East and annex Russian territory, it was no concern of Britain and France. This would give Germany all the territory and sources of raw material she required, and keep her away from colonial ambitions in Asia or Africa. Moreover, the conquest of Russia was a tough job, and would weaken Germany and render her harmless for a long time. If in the process, Bolshevik Russia was weakened or destroyed, no tears need be shed over it. But if Germany was to wage a successful campaign in the East, she must become a Great Power again. The shackles of the Treaty of Versailles must be removed. The iron ring of states encircling her must be broken. Germany's western frontier must be secured against invasion, so that she may have a free hand in the East.

Imperialist powers build up Hitler

Thus, in the decade between 1929 and 1939, Germany gradually rose to power and re-armed with the connivance of the other Imperialist powers, particularly Britain. The Rhineland was evacuated in 1929, six years before time. Germany was freed from the burden of reparations in 1932, a concession which was constantly denied to the Social Democratic government of Germany. In 1933, Germany was allowed to occupy the Rhineland in violation of the Versailles Treaty. In the same year, Britain concluded a naval Agreement with Germany which allowed her to build a navy up to forty per cent of the size of Britain's navy. This treaty was made without consulting France and was a violation of the Versailles Treaty. It gave Germany mastery over the Baltic. In 1936, Germany was allowed to introduce conscription, again in violation of the Versailles Treaty. In 1938 Germany was allowed to occupy Austria (France proposed joint action against her but Britain rejected this suggestion). In October, 1938, was enacted the infamous deal at Munich, when Czechoslovakia was handed over to Germany. The French steel-ring around Germany was broken at last. During this period the Spanish Republic was destroyed by Franco with the help of Italy and Germany while Britain refused to intervene. A hostile fascist state on her southern border

weakened France and made her more dependent on British support than ever.

The Policy of Appeasement

Of course, the policy of encouragement and appeasement of Germany was full of risks. Hitler, after climbing to power with British help, might double-cross Britain. He might desire colonies after all. But this risk must be taken. The alternative was to push Germany over to communism. And if communism came to Germany, it would spread over the whole of Europe and then Asia and Africa. That would be the end of Imperialism. "Appeasement" was a safer policy. Any risk that Germany might turn her might against her "appeasers" could be provided against by Britain re-arming herself. The policy of Britain and France was thus summed up by Stalin:

"Through the policy of appeasement there runs the eagerness and desire not to prevent the aggressors from perpetrating their black deeds, not to prevent, say, Japan from becoming involved in a war with China or better still with the Soviet Union; not to prevent, say, Germany from becoming enmeshed in European affairs, from becoming involved in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all belligerents to sink deeper into the mire of war, stealthily to encourage them to follow this line, to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another, and when they become sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to come out, of course, in the interests of peace, and to dictate their terms to weakened belligerent nations. It is cheap and it serves its purpose". (Stalin: Speech to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, March, 1939)

Fiasco of Chamberlain's policy

After the seizure of Prague in March, 1939, Germany stood at the cross-roads. Up to now it was not possible to guess the intended direction of her aggressive ambitions. But after the conquest of Czechoslovakia her next move must indicate her intention. If her aim was to push her way to the east and towards the Soviet Union, her next move would be to come to an understanding with Poland and direct her attention on Soviet Ukraine. The British government must have watched for Germany's next move with bated breath. The day after Germany marched into Prague, the Soviet government proposed to the British government the formation of a collective front

against German aggression. But the British Prime Minister negated this suggestion on the ground that it was "premature". No wonder, because Germany had not yet made her next move. Her next move was shown in the manner in which Germany partitioned Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainian province of Teschen--also called Carpathian Ukraine--was given to Hungary, thus revealing that Germany was no longer interested in Soviet Ukraine. At the same time, the German press started a bitter campaign against Poland and pressed for the return of Danzig and the Polish Corridor to Germany. Simultaneously, the Nazi leaders began to demand the return of Germany's former colonies. The direction of German expansion was fully revealed now--not *DRANG NACH OSTEN*, but a colonial empire. The entire policy of "appeasement", patiently and skillfully built up by the Government of Neville Chamberlain collapsed. Hitler had double-crossed Chamberlain. The British government now turned towards the Soviet Union for help against Nazi aggression, and intimated to the Soviet government that they were willing to negotiate a collective Security Pact with Moscow. Thus began the famous negotiations which dragged on through the summer of 1939, and ended when the Soviet government signed a non-aggression pact with Germany.

New menace for the Soviets

Meanwhile, the Soviet government were watching the course of events. They had watched the rapid re-armament of Germany with British connivance, the crumbling of the European structure built at Versailles, the growing economic crisis in capitalist countries, and the *steady drift* towards war. They also watched the re-appearance of the old menace--the formation of a coalition against the Soviet Union. They tried to meet the situation as best as they could. They worked hard to build up a peace front on the basis of Collective Security. But Collective Security was torpedoed by the resolute refusal of Britain to undertake any obligations in Eastern Europe. The Soviet government then concluded a pact of mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia. This pact was made possible by the growing fear of France that she could not rely on Britain alone for her security against a re-armed Germany but needed the additional support of another Great Power. At the same time the Soviet government joined the League of Nations. The Franco-Soviet Pact was made a part of the League Covenant to meet any possible

objection that the pact was a violation of the Treaty of Locarno. Needless to say, the Franco-Soviet Pact died a painless death at Munich.

But the Soviet government had too keen a sense of realism to place any great reliance on Pacts ("scraps of paper") for the security of the Soviet Union. Hence their other answer to the growing danger of war was a tremendous speeding up of the military defences of the country. They built up their defences on the basis of having to fight the strongest possible combination of enemies single-handed. The Far Eastern army was made an entirely separate and complete defence system. Huge armament factories were erected in the Urals and in Siberia, safe from an attack from the West or the East. By March 1939, nearly 40% of the entire resources of the U. S. S. R. were being devoted to defence.

British bid to double-cross the Soviet

I shall now discuss Soviet policy during the months which immediately preceded the Non-Aggression Pact between Russia and Germany. How was it that a situation which began with Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations for collective security against Germany suddenly ended with the signing of a treaty between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The inner history of all the negotiations which took place between the parties will be known only when the secret archives of Britain, France, Germany and the Soviet Union are made public. But one fact became obvious from the very beginning of Anglo-Soviet negotiations. There was a sharp difference between the interpretation put on the word "pact" by Britain and France on the one hand and by the Soviet government on the other. The Soviet Union wanted a pact of collective security which would secure all countries in Europe against aggression. By "aggression" they meant any attempt, direct or indirect, to destroy the independence of a state. But Great Britain and France only wanted a military alliance which would compel the U. S. S. R. to defend Poland against Germany. Thus the Soviet government came to realise that Britain and France probably wanted to use Russia as a tool, and were possibly at their old game of stirring up a conflict between the Soviet Union and Germany. Moreover, in July, 1939, while negotiations were still taking place, news leaked out that "conversations" were going on in London between a prominent German official, Herr Wohltat and a member of the British Government for

an understanding between England and Germany. The disclosure of the Hudson-Wohltat conversations was a rude warning to the Soviet government that the danger of a double-cross by Chamberlain's government was very real. At this stage, the Soviet government appears to have decided that no useful purpose would be served by further negotiations with the Western Powers. They turned towards the Nazis who were more than willing to sign a non-aggression pact in their desperate anxiety to avoid a war on two fronts. The result was the Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression on the 23rd August, 1939. Subsequently, Mr. Chamberlain complained that the Soviet government had double-crossed him. But they could say with justice that it was only a case of double-crossing a double-crosser.

Hitlerite invasion of the U. S. S. R

22nd of June, 1941 is a great landmark in the relations of the Soviet State with the non-Soviet world. Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. resulted in a military alliance between the Soviet State and the Western democracies.

Credit for this alliance goes in a large measure to Winston Churchill. His previous and subsequent record must not blind us to the fact that his prompt decision to help the Soviet State was an act of courage in sharp contrast with the sinister and suicidal policy of Chamberlain. We are not concerned with Mr. Churchill's motives. It has been suggested that his decision to help the U. S. S. R. was due to an ignorance of the military strength of the Soviet state. In other words, it is said that had Mr. Churchill known that the Red Army was more than a match for the Wehrmacht, his policy would have been different. This may or may not be true. But none of these facts can derogate from the historic significance of Mr. Churchill's decision. He may have been the unconscious instrument of history and its purposes. But his decision ushered a new era in world history. From June 22, 1941 the Soviet system was recognised as one of the great economic and social systems of mankind. The Soviet State became a co-partner of Britain and America and a joint trustee of world peace after the termination of the war.

From 1941 to 1945 was the period of the "patriotic war" against Germany. The entire resources of the Soviet State were directed towards the achievement of one object: victory over Fascist Germany. The common fight

against the Axis forces drew the Soviet state and the western democracies together. Instead of being regarded as an enemy, the U. S. S. R. came to be regarded as an ally and friend of the western democracies. The policy of co-operation culminated in the establishment of the United Nations with the U. S. S. R. as one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The period of outlawry and isolation of the Soviet state was over, never to return.

America disrupts war-time alliance

The period after 1945 may be called the period of the disruption of the Allied-Soviet entente which was built up during war. The causes of the disruption may be summarised as follows:

The foremost among these causes was the action of the U. S. Government in manufacturing the Atom bomb as a secret weapon. The Bomb was kept a secret from the U. S. S. R. but was disclosed to the two other allies of the United States, Great Britain and Canada. The only conclusion from this discrimination could be that the U. S. government was contemplating the Bomb as a possible weapon against the Soviet Union in a future war.

The second great disruptive factor was the decision of the U. S. government to annex all the Japanese islands in the Pacific and convert them into naval and military bases. Some of these islands were more than 5,000 miles away from the Pacific coast of America but only 400 miles from the Soviet coast. The American decision was announced when war against Japan was still being fought and no serious differences had arisen between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. There could be only one interpretation of the American decision to build bases near the territories of the U. S. S. R., namely, that America had already started thinking in terms of a future conflict between itself and its Soviet ally.

The third cause of the disruption of the Entente was the consolidation of the Soviet bloc in eastern Europe.

The American decision to manufacture the Atomic bomb as a secret weapon and to build naval and military bases near the Soviet coast had swift reaction in the U. S. S. R. The Soviet government decided once again to achieve security along its borders. They were determined that no Hitler would use the border states as jumping-off boards for an invasion.

With this end in view, the Balkan states were rapidly Sovietised, the popular fronts in Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia were dissolved and these neighbour states of the U. S. S. R. were converted into full-fledged communist states, which resulted in a more or less complete disruption of the war-time entente between the Soviet government and its western allies.

2. Is Soviet Union Re-arming?

ANOTHER common misconception relates to Soviet 'aggression' and Soviet re-armament. American propaganda is directed towards these two points. It is often alleged that the Soviet Government is re-arming at a terrific pace with the object of committing aggression in Western Europe and elsewhere. American propaganda is very persistent on this point. In fact, the U. S. government and its allies have made the slogan of Soviet military power the main justification for their own programme of re-armament. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the truth of this charge.

The exact state of Soviet armament is a state secret known only to the Soviet government. But certain aspects of Soviet economy throw some light on the controversy whether the Soviet government is embarking on a programme of re-armament on the scale of Hitler or whether it is pursuing a policy of peace and reconstruction within its own borders.

Re-armament cannot be hidden

It is an elementary fact that any programme of re-armament is not possible without the diversion of a large portion of the material resources of the state towards unproductive channels. For example, if the U. S. government decides to build 10 battle-ships, the result will be that colossal quantities of steel and other metals, man-power, and technical skill must be taken away from the civilian production to be spent on the navy. Similarly if the Soviet government decides to build 10,000 bombers or fighter planes, it must deprive its civilian population of the necessary material resources and man-power which will be reserved for its armament factories.

The inevitable result of any large scale programme of re-armament are: (1) the rise in prices of commodities, (2) the ever-increasing scarcity of commodities for civilian consumption, and (3) the general slowing down of the "nation-building" industries.

A state which embarks on a programme of re-

armament may be able to hide the exact size and extent of its re-armament programme, but it cannot conceal from the world the inevitable effect of such a re-armament programme on its economic system.

Its effects in the West

For example, take the effect in Britain of the present increase in armament. There has been a general reduction in "nation-building" construction. The quota of rations for civilian consumption has been reduced, and rationing has been re-introduced in the case of increasing number of commodities. There has also been a steady rise in prices all round. Health services and other social services have been curtailed.

As I write these lines, news has arrived of the resignation of Mr. Aneurin Bevan from Mr. Attlee's government as a protest against the decision to reduce social services and civil consumption in the interests of re-armament. This decision was a part of the economy drive necessitated by the recent re-armament programme. A first class crisis has arisen in the British Labour Party. There could be no more apt illustration of the inevitable effect of re-armament on the economy of a country.

Again take the effect in the U.S.A. of the colossal re-armament programme of the U. S. government. There has been a sharp rise in prices and the civilian population has been warned to be prepared for further and bigger sacrifices in the interests of "national security."

Thus, it is impossible for any state to increase its armaments unless it simultaneously adopts the following measures: (1) It must

Truth about the relative size of the Soviet and the Anglo-American Armies

The latest Soviet note to the British Government reveals the following:

1. With combined armed forces of more than 5 million men, the U.S.A., Britain and France alone now have an armed force *more than twice* as big as the total armed forces of the Soviet Union.
2. While the Soviet Union has *demonstrated* thirty-three age groups since the end of the war, the U.S.A., Britain and France are rapidly increasing their armed forces.
3. While the Soviet armed forces are today down to the level of 1939, those of the U.S.A., Britain and France are *several times greater* than in 1939.

increase the prices of commodities for civilian consumption. (2) It must impose rationing of commodities on a very large scale. (3) It must cut down expenditure on industrial construction and "nation building" activities. If the Soviet government is increasing its armaments and maintaining a large standing army ("172 divisions in Europe alone"), then its economy must reveal the inevitable consequences explained above.

But what is the actual position in the U. S. S. R.? One would have expected that the prices of commodities are rising, that rationing had been introduced on a large scale, and that 'nation-building' construction had been cut down as in Hitlerite Germany ("guns and not butter"), or as in present-day Britain and America. But what is the actual position?

Re-armament cannot reduce prices

As regards prices of commodities, the retail prices of food and manufactured goods have been reduced by the Soviet government four times since 1945. The last reduction was made on March 1, 1951. The decision to reduce prices covered a wide range of commodities including bread and bakery products, cereals, rice, vegetables, meat and meat products, fish and fish products, fats, cheese and dairy products, soaps, paraffin, cosmetics, tobacco products, furniture, crockery and glass wares, radio sets, bicycles, motorcycles, clocks and watches, building materials and household goods such as sewing machines, cutlery and agricultural implements. The reduction in prices also extended to prices in restaurants, dining rooms, cafes and other catering establishments. The U. S. S. R. is the only country in the world where the prices of commodities are steadily going down.

The important point about this reduction in prices must be noted. It is not an isolated act, but a part of a continuous policy of price reduction since 1945. As stated above, the reduction in prices on March 1, 1951 was the fourth since the end of the war. Here is a remarkable contrast between the Soviet economy and the economy of the countries like Britain and America. Whereas in these countries the prices of commodities are going up due to a general scarcity caused by re-armament, the prices of commodities in the U. S. S. R. are steadily going down. This fact is not consistent with a programme of re-armament.

The second fact to note is a general derationing of commodities in the Soviet Union since 1945. The list of derationed commodities is increasing every year. For example bread was derationed quite some time ago. This policy of derationing combined with a simultaneous

policy of reducing prices must have resulted in a huge increase in the demand for civilian consumption. How is it possible for the Soviet government to embark on a policy of a large scale derationing and reduction in prices and thus stimulate the civilian consumption at a time when it required all the available material resources of the state for re-armament?

The third fact to note is the increase in what is known as 'nation building' industries. After 1945, the Soviet government has started huge construction works like the Hydro-Electric stations on the Volga, Dnieper and the Amu Darya and the construction of the Main Turkmenian, the South Ukrainian, North Crimean and Volga-Don Canals. These constructions must have involved a capital expenditure of billions of rubles and the diversion of huge quantities of material resources. Citizens of India will contrast the position in their own country with that in the Soviet Union. The government of India has been compelled to abandon many 'nation-building' projects due to a world-wide scarcity of materials caused by the re-armament programme of Britain and America, but the Soviet government has not only succeeded in rehabilitating its industries destroyed by Germans, but is actually expanding its civilian industry and construction.

In the face of these facts, let us analyse the charge against the Soviet Government that it has embarked on a programme of large scale re-armament. Let us assume that the charge against the Soviet government about re-armament is true. In that case the simultaneous existence of the following conditions in the Soviet Union can not be explained by any known law of Economics: (1) There is a huge expansion of unproductive armament; (2) there is also a continuous reduction in the prices of commodities and goods for civilian consumption; (3) there is also a continuous policy of derationing; (4) and there is also 'nation



ANOTHER BLOW AT THE WAR MONGERS

building' construction on a huge scale. All these facts taken together, do not make sense.

The reader will also remember that the Soviet State is poor compared with the U. S. A. Its material resources are scanty. Whereas America produces more than 60 percent of the world's output of industrial goods. The Soviet Union can hardly produce enough to meet its domestic requirements. Then how is it that at a time when the U. S. Government is being compelled to raise prices and restrict civilian consumption in order to fulfil its re-armament programme, the Soviet Union with meagre resources, is able to re-arm on a scale larger than in America and also reduce prices, deration commodities, and expand its 'nation-building' industries and construction.

3. Is the Soviet Union responsible for Western rearmament?

It remains to examine the charge against the Soviet Government that they are responsible for the decision of the Western democracies to rearm. The speeches of President Truman and Premier Attlee are calculated to convince world public opinion that the rearmament of America and Western Europe is a stern necessity forced on the democracies by the menace of communist aggression. This is an argument which requires careful examination by the countries like India. Why India in particular? Because India has good reason to be interested in the rearmament controversy. One of the reasons why America has declined to supply capital goods and heavy machinery to India and the other backward countries is the alleged compelling necessity for rearmament. It is the race in armaments which is responsible for India being deprived of the opportunity and means of industrialization. India has a right to inquire into the reasons advanced in justification of this policy of rearmament.

Armament older than the Soviets

The first point to note is that the so-called Communist "menace" came into existence in 1917. Before that year there was no Soviet state and no Communist menace. One would have expected that in the absence of a Communist menace the Western democracies would

have regarded armaments as an unnecessary waste. But what was the position before 1914? The fact is that America, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and all the other Great Powers were all heavily armed. Worse, they had entered upon a headlong race in rearmament which was costing millions upon millions of rupees. Thus an impartial observer must come to the conclusion that armaments are a much older institution than the Communist "menace". The reader must also admit that the decision of the Western democracies to engage in an armament race has nothing to do with Communist menace. There must be other reasons for it, such as the desire to prevent a slump in industry, to stimulate employment by an artificial incentive in the shape of huge government orders for armaments.

Another significant fact to note is the attitude of the Soviet Government in all the disarmament conferences from 1928 till the present day. In 1928 the Soviet Government made a proposal in favour of a complete and universal disarmament. Under this proposal every state was to disarm completely and was to be allowed military forces and armaments just sufficient for police purposes within its territory. The Soviet proposal was rejected by every other Great Power.

Subsequently, in 1932 and later years the Soviet Government made another proposal in favour of a partial disarmament which would at least stop the armaments race, which was about to begin. This proposal was again rejected by the other Great Powers.

SOVIET PROPOSALS

First Session

Soviet delegation proposed :

1. General reduction of armaments.
2. Prohibition of the production and the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

Second Session

Vyshinsky proposed on Sept 18, 1947 :

1. Condemnation of the criminal propaganda for a new war.
2. Allowing of such propaganda to be regarded as a violation of the duty assumed by member-States under U. N. Charter.
3. All governments to be urged to prohibit war propaganda as a criminal offence.

4. Earliest implementation of the General Assembly's decision of December 14, 1946, on reduction of armaments, and of January 24, 1946, on excluding from national armaments the atomic weapon and other armaments for mass destruction.

Third Session

Vyshinsky proposed on Sept 25, '48:

1. Reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the five Great Powers by one-third within one year.
2. Establishment of an international control body within the frame-work of the Security Council to watch and control

In 1947 the Soviet Government proposed a pact banning the use of atomic bombs and bacterial warfare. This proposal was rejected by the U. S. Government. Thus the present race in the manufacture of atom bomb has not been forced on America and Britain by the Soviet Government. On the contrary, the race has been forced on the Soviet Government by the attitude of the U. S. Government.

Worse than Hitler

The U. S. Government and the American politicians are quite candid in their attitude towards the question of the atomic bomb. They say that the monopoly of the secret of the bomb gives America a military advantage which it would be foolish to surrender. There was no way open for the Soviet Government but to go ahead with the manufacture of the atom bomb until such time when the Soviet stock-pile equalled in size its American counterpart. Until this stage is reached the atomic race will continue and billions upon billions of rupees will be wasted in the manufacture of bombs while 80 per cent of the population of the world lives in a condition of indescribable poverty and backwardness.

It is somewhat remarkable that the U.S. Government has adopted an attitude which is worse than that of Hitler. The Nazi Government was quite willing to sign a pact banning the use of poison gas and chemical warfare. This pact was respected by both belligerent camps throughout the period of the war, until the dropping of the atomic bomb

AT THE U. N. O.

carrying out of the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces and for the prohibition of the atomic weapon.

Fourth Session

Vyshinsky proposed on September 23, 1949 :

1. Condemnation of the preparations for a new world war now being conducted in the United States and Great Britain.
2. Prohibition of the atom bomb and establishment of effective control over atomic energy.
3. Conclusion of a Peace Pact between the U. S. A. Britain, France, China and the U. S. S. R.

over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Why then should the U. S. Government be unwilling to sign a similar Pact banning the use of the atomic bomb in war? Most Governments of the world including those of India, Pakistan, China, Indonesia and even Britain are in favour of such a pact.

Therefore, it is hardly fair to say that the responsibility for the present race in armaments is on the shoulders of Soviet Government. How can a Government which has made several proposals for disarmament and peace be made responsible for the present wasteful race in armaments?

4. Socialist State cannot be aggressive

THE foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. cannot be properly understood without understanding its domestic policy. The roots of every foreign policy lie in the internal conditions within a state. For example, the foreign policy of the imperialist powers in the second half of the nineteenth century cannot be understood without an understanding of the Nature of the economic system known as imperialism. The policy of expansion abroad had its roots in the economic conditions at home.

In the case of the Soviet Union, its foreign policy can not be properly understood without some understanding of the fundamental character of the Soviet State. Once this character is understood by the reader many misconceptions about the Soviet foreign policy disappear from his mind.

Fifth Session

Vyshinsky proposed on Sept. 20, 1950:

1. Condemnation of the propaganda for a new war.
2. Banning of the atomic weapon unconditionally, institution of strict international control, and a declaration that the Government which shall be the first to use it, or any other means of mass extermination against any country will be regarded as a war criminal.
3. Conclusion of a Peace Pact between the U. S. A., Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union.
4. Reduction of the armed forces of the five Big Powers by one-third in a year, as a preliminary step to further reductions.

What are the fundamental characteristics of the Soviet state? The two features which are beyond dispute or controversy are the following:

(1) *The production of goods and commodities in the U.S.S.R. is not in the hands of private concerns but belongs to the state. Furthermore, the basis of production is not the profit motive, but planning.* The most important consequence of this feature is that there are no vested interests in the U. S. S. R. which stand to gain by an increase in armaments. In this matter the internal conditions in the Soviet Union may be contrasted with those of Britain, U. S. A., France and other countries where any increase in armaments immediately results in an increase in the rate of profit of big corporations like Du Pont, General Motors, Metropolitan Vickers, Comite des Forges, Tatas or Birlas. Therefore in deciding whether

it should re-arm or disarm, the Soviet government has not to contend against powerful vested interests whose prosperity depends upon an ever-increasing armaments race.

(2) *The second characteristic of the Soviet state is the doctrine of racial equality.* There may be a good deal of controversy about the presence or absence of civil liberties in the Soviet state but the existence of complete racial equality in every sphere of social and political life throughout the boundaries of the U. S. S. R. is a fact which has never been seriously challenged even by the enemies of the Soviet state. The economic and political implications of the doctrine of racial equality must be properly appreciated, particularly by nations of Asia and Africa who have been struggling in vain to persuade the western powers to concede equality of status to all coloured nations.

the war DID NOT

have the same effects

in the
U.S.S.R.

as in the
U.S.A.

LOSS OF LIFE SOLDIERS and CIVILIANS	
1,75,00,000	3,96,000
DESTRUCTION	
70,000 villages destroyed.	NIL
1,710 towns wiped out.	
3,99,000 miles of railway line and 1,31,850 industrial plants and farms destroyed.	
25 million people without shelter.	
WAR LOSSES	WAR PROFITS MADE BY THE AMERICAN MONOPOLIES
4,85,000 million dollars	1943—10,600 million dollars 1944—10,800 " " 1945— 8,700 " " 1946—12,800 " " 1947—18,100 " " 1948—21,200 " " 1949—17,000 " "

In the economic sphere, the Soviet state insists that the benefits of industrialization and modern science shall be enjoyed by every nationality in the Soviet Union. In fact, the rate of capital expenditure in the backward regions of the U.S.S.R. is much higher than in Russia proper. Thus the Soviet state has not classified its population into two sections, an advanced section which is industrialised and a backward section which is engaged in producing raw materials and agricultural products for the advanced section. The declared goal of the Soviet government is to establish uniform industrial system throughout its boundaries.

In the political sphere, every individual enjoys the same status irrespective of race, colour or nationality. This position may be contrasted with those prevailing in the so-called Negro states of the U. S. A. or in the colonial empires of the western powers. In the Czarist Empire too, the Asian nationalities (Armenians, Georgians, Jews and Turkestanis) were treated as inferior races just as the Indians are treated in South Africa and Negroes in the southern states of the U. S. A. The October Revolution brought about a fundamental change. For bringing about this change credit goes entirely to the Soviet Government which has never deviated from the principle of racial equality during its 34 years of existence. The question which an impartial student of international affairs must ask himself is: *Can a government which is based on the principle of complete racial equality and justice for all nationalities within its borders be a tyranny? Can such a government harbour designs to conquer the world by sword?*

documents of the
world peace movement



SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS (WARSAW)

**Manifesto to the Peoples
of the World**

War threatens mankind: every child, every woman, every man.

The United Nations is not fulfilling the hopes placed in it by the people to ensure peace and security.

All human life and mankind's cultural heritage are in peril.

The people would cling to the hope that the United Nations will return resolutely to the principles upon which it was founded after the Second World War, and which consisted of securing freedom, peace and mutual respect between all peoples.

More and more the peoples of the world are putting their hope in themselves—in their determination and in their goodwill.

Every thinking person knows that he who says: "War is inevitable", slanders mankind.

You, who read this message proclaimed in the name of the peoples of eighty nations, represented at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, must never forget that the fight for peace is your own fight. You should know that hundreds of millions of defenders of peace join in stretching out their hands to you. They invite you to take part in the noblest battle ever waged by a humanity confident of its future.

Peace does not wait on us. We have to win it.

Join your will to ours in demanding the cessation of the war which rages in Korea and which may set the world ablaze. Stand up with us in opposing the attempt to re-sow the seeds of war in Germany and Japan.

Together with 500 million human beings who signed the Stockholm Appeal, we demand the abolition of atomic weapons, general disarmament and controls to accomplish this. The strict control of general disarmament and of the destruction of atomic weapons is technically possible. What is needed is the will to do it.

We demand the outlawing of war propaganda.

Let us press before all parliaments, all governments and the General Assembly of the United Nations for the peace proposals put forward by this Second World Peace Congress.

The power of the forces of peace throughout the world is great enough, the voice of free men is strong enough, for us together to secure a meeting of the representatives of the five Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress provides, the convincing proof that men and women gathered from the five continents of the world can agree, despite great differences of opinion, in order to dispel the scourge of war and to maintain peace.

Let the governments follow this example and peace will be saved.

SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS (WARSAW)

Appeal to the United Nations

When the peoples of the world created the United Nations, they endowed it with their hopes. The greatest of these was the hope for peace.

Today, however, war upsets the peaceful life of many peoples and threatens tomorrow to upset the peace of all mankind.

If the United Nations is not fulfilling that great hope reposed in it by all the peoples of the world, both those whose governments are represented in it and those not yet represented therein—if the United Nations is not guaranteeing mankind security and peace, this is because it is being influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace: the search for general agreement.

If the United Nations is to realise the hopes that the peoples have always reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation, and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible the calling together of a meeting of the five great powers: the Chinese People's Republic, France, Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences.

The Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, comprising delegates of eighty countries and expressing the true voice of a humanity longing for peace, demands that immediate consideration be given by the United Nations, and by the parliaments to which the governments of the various countries are responsible to the following proposals designed to restore confidence among all countries, regardless of their respective systems, and to maintain and re-establish peace:

1. In view of the fact that the war now raging in Korea is not only bringing incalculable disaster upon the people of Korea, but also threatens to become a general war, we demand the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal from Korea of foreign armies, and the peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea, with the participation of the representatives of the Korean people. We demand that the problem be dealt with by the Security Council in its full composition—

that is, including the lawful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic.

We call for the termination of the intervention by American armed forces on the Chinese island of Taiwan (Formosa) and the cessation of hostilities against the Republic of Viet-Nam, military operations which also carry the threat of world war.

2. We categorically condemn every move made and measure taken in violation of the international agreements forbidding the remilitarization of Germany and Japan. These moves and measures constitute a grave threat to peace. We urgently demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with a united and demilitarized Germany, as well as with Japan, and the withdrawal from both these countries of the forces of occupation.
3. We consider the violence employed to hold peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection as a powerful menace to the cause of peace and we proclaim the right of those people to freedom and independence. At the same time we raise our voices against every form of racial discrimination, for it promotes hatred between peoples and endangers the peace.
4. We consider it necessary to denounce the attempts made by the supporters of aggression to confuse the very meaning of what constitutes aggression and to intervene, under one pretext or another, in the internal affairs of other nations.
We declare that no political, strategic or economic considerations, no motives deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state, can justify armed intervention by any other state. That state commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force under any pretext whatever, against another state.
5. We hold that propaganda for a new war constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful co-operation of peoples, and we, therefore, hold it to be a crime of the deepest gravity against humanity.
We appeal to the parliaments of all countries to enact a "Law for the Protection of Peace", which shall render all

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propaganda for a new war, in any form whatsoever, liable to criminal prosecution.

6. In view of the fact that all decent persons, regardless of their political views, regard the ruthless mass destruction of civilian populations in Korea as a crime against humanity, we demand that a competent International Court be appointed to examine the crimes committed during the war in Korea, and in particular the question of the responsibility of General Mac-Arthur.

7. Voicing the demands of peoples who bear upon their shoulders the heavy burdens of military budgets, and firmly resolved to guarantee humanity a firm and stable peace, we present for the consideration of the United Nations, of all parliaments and of all peoples the following proposals :

Unconditional prohibition of all manner of atomic weapons, and of bacteriological, chemical, poisonous, radioactive and all other devices of mass destruction;

Denunciation as a war criminal of that government which henceforth is the first to use these weapons.

The Second World Peace Congress, mindful of its responsibility to the peoples, appeals with equal earnestness, to the great powers and calls upon them to launch, during the years 1951 and 1952, a gradual, simultaneous and similarly proportioned reduction of all their land, sea and air armed forces by one-third to one-half of their present size

Such a step, by putting a decisive end to the armaments race, will reduce the danger of aggression. It will help to lighten the budgets of States which weigh heavily on all sections of the people. It will help also to restore international confidence and the necessary co-operation between all nations, regardless of their social system.

The Congress declares that the controls for prohibiting atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, as well as all conventional arms, are technically possible. An international body, staffed by qualified inspectors, should be set up within the framework of the Security Council and should be made responsible for the control of the reduction of conventional arms as well as the prohibition of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons. These controls, to be effective, not only must apply to military forces, existing armaments and arms production as declared by each nation, but also, on the demand of the international control commission, must be extended

to include the inspection of military forces, existing armaments and arms production which is suspected beyond what has been declared. These proposals for the reduction of armed forces constitute a first step on the road to general and complete disarmament, the final goal of all defenders of peace.

The Second World Congress, convinced that peace cannot be secured through an armaments race seeking a balance of forces, holds that these proposals give no military advantage to any country, but that they would result in halting the drive to war and in advancing the well-being and security of peoples of the world.

8. We emphasise that, in certain countries, the passage from a peace economy to a war economy is increasingly disturbing normal economic relations and the interchange between countries both of raw materials and industrial goods. It is our view that this exerts a harmful influence on the standards of living of many peoples, that it raises obstacles to economic progress and business relations, and is a source of conflicts endangering the peace of the world.

Taking into consideration the vital interests of the populations of all countries, and with the desire to improve conditions throughout the world, we urge the restora-



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tion of normal trading relations between the countries on the basis of mutual advantage, satisfying the requirements of the peoples concerned, excluding economic discrimination in any form and safeguarding the development of each national economy and the economic independence of states, both large and small.

9. We hold that obstruction of cultural relations among the peoples breeds discord and misunderstanding and creates an atmosphere of distrust, favourable to propaganda for war.

We consider that on the other hand, the strengthening of cultural relations between the peoples creates conditions favourable to mutual understanding.

Accordingly, we appeal to all governments, urging them to contribute towards improving cultural relations among the peoples, in order to enable them to become better acquainted with each other's treasures in the field of culture. We appeal to them to facilitate the organisation of international conferences of persons

active in the field of culture, the mutual exchange of visits and the publication and wide diffusion of the literature and art of other countries.

We draw the attention of the United Nations to the fact that, while calling upon it to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we are at the same time undertaking the establishment of a World Council of Peace.

The World Council of Peace shall be a body embracing representatives of all the peoples of the world, those within the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, and also countries still dependent and colonial.

It shall call upon the United Nations to fulfil its duty to strengthen and develop peaceful co-operation between all countries.

It shall assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace that shall respond to the vital interests of all nations.

The World Council of Peace will, in short, prove before mankind that, despite all existing difficulties, which must in no wise be minimised, we shall accomplish the great mission of peace upon which we have embarked.

Resolution against War Propaganda

THE Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, considering:

That the propaganda favouring war carried on in some countries creates the greatest threat to the peaceful co-operation of peoples; and **That** the propaganda favouring war is therefore one of the gravest crimes against humanity;

APPEALS to the parliaments of all countries to enact a "law for the Protection of Peace", rendering all propaganda for a new war, in any form whatsoever, liable to criminal prosecution.*

The Congress appeals to the parliaments of all countries, in the interest of strengthening peace, to provide for the education of the younger generation in a spirit of co-operation with other peoples and of respect for other races and nations.

The Congress appeals to all defenders of peace, to all honest men and women in all

countries of the world, to boycott firmly publishing houses, film-producers, press organs, broadcasting stations, individuals and organisations which spread, directly or indirectly, propaganda favouring war. We ask them also to protest vehemently against all forms of art and literature which support such propaganda.

The Congress appeals to all workers of the press, in literature, in the arts, in the cinema, in education, to refuse to allow themselves or their professional media to be used as instruments of propaganda of hatred and war among the nations, and to take an active part in spreading the principles of peace and mutual understanding amongst the peoples.

Resolution defining aggression

1. The aggressor is that state which first uses armed force, under any pretext, against another state.

2. No political, economic or strategic consideration, no pretext based on the internal situation of a state, can justify armed intervention.

* The Parliaments of 9 Countries: the U. S. S. R., China, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania and the Democratic Republic of Germany have already, in response to this appeal, banned all forms of war propaganda. —Editor.

Resolution on the strengthening of cultural relations between countries

WITH a view to ensuring peaceful collaboration and mutual understanding between peoples, the Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace considers it necessary to take measures for the strengthening and development of cultural relations between the different countries. The Congress recommends:

In the Field of Science:

The creation of international scientific associations to include scientists from every country.

The organisation of scientific congresses in the capitals of each state in turn. Organisation of visits of scientists to other countries for closer mutual relations and for the exchange of scientific experience.

Exchange of literature between universities and big libraries. Publication of regular bulletins with notes on material published in the different countries.

The organisation of visits to other countries for young people, students, etc., during holidays.

In the Field of the Arts:

The organisation of tours for theatrical companies, orchestras, ballet companies and outstanding representatives of the arts, as well as the distribution of films.

The organisation of music festivals, to familiarise listeners with the music of other countries.

The organisation of exhibitions of art and of folk art.

Invitations to representatives of other countries to take part in the celebrations of national commemorations of important dates in history, science, literature and the arts. Commemoration of these dates in other countries.

The translation of literary works, the publication and performance of musical works. Exchange of these as well as notes and articles or critical statements about them.

Widespread publication of world classics in literature and in music and reproduction of paintings, sculptures and world-famous examples of architecture.

The development, in each country, of the art of translation of literary works from other languages.

**Resolutions of the Berlin Meeting
of the World Peace Council**

**On the Struggle for Peace in the colonies
and Dependencies**

THE Charter of the United Nations, which was based on the right of free self-determination of peoples, raised high hopes in colonial and dependent countries. But, in this sphere, as in many others, the attitude of the United Nations, by serving as a screen for the methods of force and compulsion used to maintain peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection, has undermined the hopes placed in it.

This situation increases the danger of a new world war.

The World Peace Council denounces the false propaganda which tends to represent a new world war as a path that might lead to the free self-determination of the colonial and dependent peoples, and declares that the common action of all peoples side by side for peace constitutes a decisive factor in the realization by the colonial and dependent peoples of the right of free self-determination.

The proposals towards a peaceful settlement of the war in Korea and the major Asian problems—Taiwan, Viet-Nam, Malaya—and toward a peaceful settlement of the German problem and the Japanese problem, as well as the efforts of conciliation by certain Asian, Arab, and other peace-loving countries, contribute at one and the same time toward the maintenance of peace and toward the free self-determination of peoples.

The growing opposition of the colonial and dependent peoples to aggression, oppression and the stifling of their liberties; to the inclusion of their countries in aggressive pacts; to the raising of native military contingents for use against other peoples; to the stationing of foreign troops on their territories; to the acquisition of military bases and raw materials in their countries; to the lowering of their cultural values; to measures of race discrimination—all contribute vitally to the maintenance of peace.

The World Council proclaims the solidarity of all peoples without exception in the struggle against the war that threatens all mankind.

For further resolutions of the Berlin Session see next page.

Resolution on a Peaceful Solution of the Korean Conflict

TO secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the World Peace Council demands the immediate calling of a conference of all countries concerned.

We call on all lovers of peace in all countries to urge their respective governments to support the immediate calling of such a conference.

The World Peace Council strongly maintains the opinion that all foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from Korea to enable the Korean people to settle their internal affairs for themselves.

Resolution on the Decision of the United Nations Wrongfully Naming the Chinese People's Republic an "Aggressor" in Korea

THE World Peace Council recalls the definition of aggression adopted by the Second World Peace Congress: "That State commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force under any pretext whatever against another State," and it declares unjust and illegal the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations naming the Chinese People's Republic an "aggressor" in Korea. This decision constitutes a serious obstacle to the peaceful solution of the Korean question; it threatens extension of the war in the Far East and, consequently, threatens the outbreak of a new world war.

The World Peace Council demands that the United Nations rescind this resolution.

Resolution on the United Nations

THE World Peace Council has taken note that the United Nations has failed to reply to the Address of the Second World Congress, as though proposals for the maintenance of peace advocated by the representatives of hundreds of millions of human beings did not concern it.

Since the adoption of that Address, the U. N. has still further disappointed the hopes the peoples had placed in it and has raised this disappointment to a climax by the resolution condemning China as an "aggressor".

* * * *

It has sanctioned, and covered by its authority, the systematic destruction in Korea, by the American armed forces, of almost

a million human beings, including old people, women and children, crushed or burnt in the debris of their towns and villages.

The World Peace Council resolves to dispatch to the U.N. a delegation comprising Signor Nenni (Italy), Mme. Isabelle Blume (Belgium), Mrs. S.O. Davies (Great Britain), Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia), M. d'Astier de la Vigerie (France), Mr. Tikhonov (U.S.S.R.), Mr. Wu Yao-tsung (Chinese People's Republic), Mr. Hromadka (Czechoslovakia), M. Gabriel d'Arboussier (Black Africa), Senor Pablo Neruda (Chile), Genral Heriberto Jara (Mexico), Mr. Paul Robeson and Rev. Willard Uphaus (U.S.A), Dr. Atal (India)*.

This delegation shall be charged to demand of the U.N.:

1. That it consider the various points of the Address of the World Peace Congress and the various resolutions adopted at this session of the World Council and express an opinion on each.

2. That it return to the role assigned to it by the Charter, namely, that it should serve as an area of agreement between the governments and not as the instrument of any dominant group.

This decision of the World Council will have the support of hundreds of millions of men and women who have a right to maintain a vigilant watch to ensure that high international organs do not betray their mission of safeguarding peace.

* As we go to the press, the news has come that Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General of the U. N. O. has informed the World Peace Council that he is ready to receive the delegation.

Resolution on a Peaceful Solution of the Japanese Question

IN pursuance of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress, the World Peace Council strongly condemns the remilitarization of Japan now being effected by the occupying power against the wishes of the Japanese people.

The World Peace Council considers it essential that a referendum on the remilitarization of Japan and the conclusion of a peace treaty with a peaceful and demilitarized Japan be held in Japan and in the countries most concerned in Asia, America and Oceania.

The World Peace Council condemns all attempts to conclude a separate peace with

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Japan. It considers that a peace treaty must be the subject of negotiations in the first instance by the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and agreed to by all the countries concerned. All occupation forces must be withdrawn from Japan immediately after conclusion of the peace treaty.

The Japanese people must be guaranteed a democratic and peaceful life.

All military organizations and institutions, acknowledged or concealed, must be forbidden, and the whole of industry must be directed towards a peace economy.

The World Peace Council invites all friends of peace in Asia and the Pacific area, including those in Japan, to hold on the earliest suitable date a regional conference for the defence of peace, in order to achieve a peaceful solution to the Japanese question and thereby dispel a serious source of danger of war in the Far East.

Resolution on a Peaceful Settlement of the German Problem

MILITARIST and Nazi forces are being revived in Germany, in betrayal of the resolve of the peoples in whose name were concluded the treaties which categorically insist on Germany's disarmament. This rearmament, military and industrial, of Germany constitutes the gravest of the dangers threatening a new world war.

The World Peace Council notes with satisfaction the growth of the forces of peace in Germany and welcomes the gratifying success of the Peace Congress of Essen. It commends the friends of peace in Germany for undertaking, as a task in which peace-loving people of all tendencies are participating, a referendum in which the German people shall express their will on the question of the remilitarization of their country and on the conclusion of a peace treaty that shall put an end to the present dangerous state of uncertainty.

The World Peace Council calls upon the peoples most directly menaced to unite in a vigorous movement of protest of millions of men and women to secure from their governments the conclusion, in the course of the current year, of a treaty of peace with a peaceful and united Germany, whose demilitarization, ensured by an international agreement, will constitute the best guarantee of peace in Europe.

Resolution on Organization and Development of the Peace Movement

THE World Peace Council, at its meeting in Berlin in February 1951, notes with satisfaction what has already been done to carry out the decisions of the Second World Congress and considers that these activities must be still further developed.

The Council in particular urges all national committees greatly to increase the circulation and popularization of the Address to the United Nations Organization. The Address must reach every corner of the earth; it must be made known to every man and every woman. The Council calls upon every peace-lover to show the greatest initiative in this task both nationally and internationally.

The Council records and welcomes the fact that a number of countries have passed laws against war propaganda.

It urges national committees to take steps to frame proposals for Peace Defence Acts for presentation to the national parliaments. It calls upon national committees to inform public opinion on these efforts so as to secure the widest public support.

It urges national committees to put the people on their guard and to mobilize them to denounce and boycott all publications, schoolbooks, films, radio broadcasts, etc., which contain any incitement to war.

It asks national committees to launch a great campaign of enlightenment in which thousands of men of goodwill in each country will ceaselessly expose the falsehoods that aid the preparation of war.

It proposes that the Bureau take steps to set up, under the Secretariat, an information office to supply a service of accurate and objective information in order to defeat false or tendentious news designed to whip up a war psychosis.

* * *

The World Peace Council welcomes the relations which have been established, in accordance with the decisions of the Second World Congress, with numerous associations and groupings and expresses its satisfaction at the contribution to the further extension and development of the peace movement which these contacts have made possible.

The Council resolves:

1. To continue discussions with the movement of 'mondialists' in different countries with a view to defining points of agreement and joint activity, and encouraging reciprocal participation in conferences and congresses.

2. That the equal-representation meeting suggested by the Society of Friends, be arranged, the documents and resolutions of the two movements forming the basis for a discussion of conditions for joint action.

3. To bring the resolutions adopted at this session to the notice of the Churches and to solicit their support. The President of the Council, Professor Joliot-Curie, has already written in the name of the Bureau to the highest Church authorities informing them of the Second World Congress resolution on disarmament. Several replies received to date are indicative of the interest evoked by this message.

4. That it is necessary to develop relations with circles in various countries which favour neutrality so that they may be encouraged to take effective action in behalf of peace.

5. To work for co-operation with pacifist movements and with all groups, contact and co-operation with which can serve the cause of peace.

* * *

The World Council welcomes the proposals and steps already taken for calling international conferences which will enable those qualified to represent opinion in various countries to exchange views and jointly to seek the solution of problems in the interests of world peace.

In conformity with this, the World Council

1. Approves the convocation by the Franco-Belgian Movement Against German Rearmament of a conference of the peoples of the European Atlantic Pact countries, together with the German people, in Paris or Brussels, at the earliest possible date. The object of this conference shall be to examine the question of combating remilitarization of Germany and attainment of a peaceful solution of the German problem;

2. Approves the proposal for the organization of a conference of the countries of Asia and the Pacific, the principal object of which shall be the struggle against Japanese rearmament and the peaceful solution of existing conflicts, and also the holding of a popular referendum in the Asian and Pacific countries concerned on the remilitarization of Japan and the conclusion of a peace treaty with her in the current year;

3. Requests the Bureau to support the organization of regional conferences,

- (a) of the countries of the Near East and North Africa, and

- (b) of the Scandinavian countries.

4. Recommends that the Secretariat envisage the organization of similar conferences,

- (a) of the countries of Black Africa, and

- (b) of the countries of North America and Latin America. (This conference should be held in Mexico next August.)

* * *

The World Council decides to call an International Economic Conference, to be held in the U. S. S. R. in the summer of 1951. This conference shall be open to economists, technicians, industrialists, businessmen and trade-unionists of all countries, and its object shall be to consider ways and means of re-establishing economic relations and raising the general standard of living.

The conference shall discuss the following subjects:

- (a) Opportunities for improving standards of living in the middle of the twentieth century under peace conditions;

- (b) Opportunities for improving economic relations between all countries.

In accordance with the resolution of the Second World Congress on cultural exchanges, the World Council recommends its Bureau to give full support to the organization of a conference of members of the medical profession, which has already been initiated by leaders of the profession in France and Italy, and which should be held in Italy during this year. This conference shall be devoted to the problem of combating the evil effects of war preparations on the public health services.

The Council directs the Secretariat to study the possibility of, and encourage international conferences to discuss ways and means of developing national cultures and international cultural collaboration under peace conditions. (Conferences of writers and artists, scientists, film producers.)

A conference of writers and artists shall be convened in 1951.

It directs the Bureau to explore the possibility of founding a film centre that will encourage and co-ordinate the production and distribution of peace films and will combat the use of the cinema for war propaganda.

It recommends the Secretariat to approach peace-loving scientists with a view to encouraging them to urge the national and international scientific organizations to which they belong to adopt as a charter principle the demand that their discoveries shall be used for peaceful purposes only....

Nagarjun

THE EARTH

*The Earth is the Earth
Not a Cow ready to be milked,
To yield a bowl ful of milk!*

*A The Earth is the Earth,
Not a stack of rice or wheat,
To be auctioned, or whisked away,
And sold in the mandis!*

*The Earth is the Earth,
Not an automobile,
To be driven away by pressing a switch
To Patna or Delhi!*

*The Earth is the Earth,
Mother of all things, moving or still,
All-too forbearing, bearer of corn, of all
wealth;
She desires, not praise, but work, very
hard work.*

*She has always wanted
Ploughing, watering—over and over again,
Sowing, nursing, service and toil.*

*She has always wanted
The warm, close touch of hand, foot and
body,
The precious drops of sweat,
The eager, hungry look of eyes, moist and
soft.*

*She has demanded
Reverence and devotion such as a pupil offers,
Care such as a son gives,
Love of a husband,
Affection of a mother,
Tending such as a father gives.*

*The Earth has always desired
Unending, boundless, deep love.*

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*She has been bearing for years untold
Sweet, multifarious, fruits, flowers and
corn.*

*The swaying, waving stalks of rice
Have always borne messages of Peace,
never of Death!*

*They are symbols of Life perpetual, not
destruction,
These fields of rich, green Corn spreading
as far as the horizon,
Which the eyes are never weary with
watching!*

*These plants and seedlings have never
borne daggers,
From the roots of trees, there never came
high explosives,
After feeding on grass, no cow ever gave
forth poison;
After drinking the life of the earth, no
cloud ever rained death.*

*We dedicate ourselves to this Earth;
It belongs to us; it is none of yours.
Hear, O Carrier of Death, O Monster
in love with War,
O, dreary, accursed Being, hear!
She does not desire your touch,
This Ahalya, this blessed, virgin Earth!*

*Lift your gaze and see,
There, where the regions of the Volga
and the Yangtse,*

*Are immersed in work, in fruitful toil,
productive of comfort and plenty,
Where hundreds of thousands, and millions
of craftsmen and scientists,
Care-free, bold and daring,
Melt their guns, swords and arrows in
the furnace,*

*And turn them into ploughshares and
pruning hooks,
Sources of creation and riches,
Of knowledge, wisdom and joy,
Media for inflicting defeats on nature.*

Translated from the Hindi by P. C. Gupta

Louis Aragon

SANTA ESPINA

*I remember a tune we used to hear in Spain
And it made the heart beat faster, and we
knew
Each time as our blood was kindled once
again
Why the blue sky above us was so blue.*

*I remember a tune like the voice of the open
sea
Like the cry of migrant birds, a tune which
stores
In the silence, after the notes, a stifled sob
Revenge of the salt seas on their conquerors.*

*I remember a tune which was whistled at
night
In a sunless time, an age with no wandering
knight
When children wept for the bombs and in
catacombs
A noble people dreamt of the tyrants' doom.*

*It bore in its name the sacred thorns which
pierced
The brow of a god as he hung upon the
gallows
The song that was heard in the ear and felt
in the flesh
Reopened the wound in his side and revived
his sorrows.*

*No one dared to sing to the air they hummed
All the words were forbidden and yet I know*

*Universe ravaged with inveterate pox
It was your hope and your month of Sundays.
Vainly I seek its poignant melody
But the earth has now but operatic tears
The memory of its murmuring waters lost
The call of stream to stream, in these deaf
years.*

*O Holy Thorn, Holy Thorn, begin again
We used to stand as we heard you long ago
But now there is no one left to renew the
strain
The woods are silent, the singer dead in
Spain.*

*I would like to believe that there is music
still
In that country's heart, though hidden under-
ground
The dumb will speak and the paralytics
will
March one fine day to the cobbler's triumphant
sound.*

*The crown of blood, the symbol of anguish
and sorrow
Will fall from the brow of the Son of Man
that hour
And man will sing loudly in that sweet
tomorrow
For the beauty of life and the hawthorn tree
in flower.*

Translated from the French by Kenneth Muir

"I do not wear a uniform on my conscience!" — Henry Martin

WHEREVER people have refused to be slaves and are fighting for freedom; in every country of the continents of Asia and Africa; the name of a white man, of a young patriot of France, will be pronounced with reverence and affection.

The people of Asia and Africa will make songs about him and will cover his name with glory for ever and ever; for being a white man, he fought for the freedom of the black and the yellow men and sacrificed his precious youth in order to put a stop to the 'dirty' war against the heroic Viet-Nameese.

The name of this young French man is Henri Martin. At the age of 16 he fought for the freedom of France against the Nazi invaders and their French fifth-columnists. At the age of 23 he has gone to jail to spend 5 years in solitary confinement — yes, **SOLITARY** confinement — for the crime of *distributing leaflets* calling upon the sailors to refuse to fight the Viet-Nameese people.

The evil men who today rule over France, wanted to damn Henri Martin in the eyes of the French people. But they could not think up anything better than the simple trick of putting up before the same Tribunal which was trying Henri Martin a quarter-master named Heimberger, accused of sabotage on the air-craft carrier "Dixmude". The reactionary press made a great fuss about it, trying to connect both the cases and hinting that the act of sabotage was committed on the instructions of Henri Martin.

Martin angrily rejected this charge in a magnificent letter. He said:

"We are 8 million Frenchmen who do not want to die either for the American Imperialists or for the French capitalists. We are, therefore, sufficiently strong. It is because of this that I reject individual sabotage. I have confidence in the strength of the people."

And then with the following statement of the quarter-master Heimberger, the charge of sabotage collapsed completely:

*French youth faces court-martial
for opposing the dirty war
against Viet-Nam*

"I recognise that I alone am guilty of the sabotage act...I have not received any instructions from Henri Martin."

Speaking before his judges of the Military Tribunal at Toulon, Henri Martin proudly declared:

"...I was 16 years old when I started to distribute leaflets. I have loved and still love my country with all my strength. After having fought in the Maquis in the Department of Cher, I could have gone back home. I was 17 years old. I asked to be sent to the Royan Front. There, I had a 24 years old captain who knew how to lead his men and who fell at the hands of the enemy on December 3, 1944. Before he died, he said to us:

'Come on boys, you must fight to the very end.'

"I hold this pledge today in fighting against

the unjust war in Viet-Nam. In enlisting to fight in Indo-China, I believed I would be fighting for the happiness of the people of Viet-Nam. *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, are not empty words for me. I do not wear a uniform on my heart, nor on my conscience. I am ready to give my life for my country. I have not changed. If they have dragged me before this tribunal, it is because the men who rule my country, betray it as at the time of the occupation."

The President of the Tribunal: When you enlisted, you knew that you would have to obey orders for waging war.

Henri Martin: I did not enlist to wage a war which strikes at women and youngsters.

The President: Have you got proof of what you have said?

Henri Martin: Yes, at Haiphong we shot at a column when we did not know whether they were civilians or soldiers.

The President: Do you accept the authorship of the leaflet entitled "SAILORS, VOTE FOR PEACE!"?

Henri Martin: Yes, this leaflet was written on my request and distributed by other

seamen, after I had asked them whether they were in agreement with the fight for peace.

The President: Did you receive foreign inspiration for writing this leaflet?

Henri Martin: I did not need that. It is sufficient to see what still needs to be reconstructed in our country to understand that the military credits are too high, and that instead of waging a war in Indo-China, it would be better to place all the forces of our country into the fight for peace.

The President: I do not want to reproach you for this, but when one is a sailor, one has certain obligations, especially as you have received the enlistment allowance.

Henri Martin: So you mean to say, that we are not sailors, but mercenaries?

The President: You enlisted to go to Indo-China!

Henri Martin: It was not the attractiveness of the allowance which made me go there. I wanted to fight against the Japanese aggressors and not against the Viet-Nameese people. It is true, that when I saw the work I had to do, I asked three times for a cancellation of my enlistment. Three times I was refused. Besides, to those who reproached me for casting a slur on the discipline and the morale of the sailors, I replied, that there was nothing in asking the sailors to vote for peace. I repeat that we are not mercenaries but republican sailors.

The President: But in distributing the leaflet: "Not a man, not a penny for Indo-China", you have made the apology for disobedience.

Henri Martin: It is not disobedience when it is a question of fighting against a government which betrays the interests of France. Those who fought against the Vichy Government are not traitors.

The President: So everyone can do as he pleases!

Henri Martin: There is a fundamental difference between doing as one pleases, and obeying criminal orders. As far as I am concerned, what I have seen in Indo-China is quite sufficient. Between March and December, 1946, at a time when the agreement of March 6 was in force, we, among others, sank junks loaded with rice which the Headquarters had agreed to permit to reach Haiphong for feeding the civilian population, and my own officer said: "Oh, these bastards!"

FROM THE NEXT MONTH

N EVERY ISSUE

1. *Notes of the Month* by P. C. J.
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3. *A series on agrarian reforms* in different provinces by 'Vinayak'
4. A symposium on *Marxism and Ancient India* by D. D. Kosambi, S. S. Dhawan, D. K. Bedekar, Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya, Rangeya Raghava.
5. *Open Forum* containing contributions by leaders of Left and Democratic Parties.
6. *Scissors and Paste* by O. P. S.
7. *Asia in Revolt*—reports of the liberation movements in Asian lands.
8. *Provincial Letters* on Partics and Politics, Labour, Kisans, and Food.
9. *Battle for Peace*—from month to month
10. *The Dollar "Democracy"* the dirt and the filth of the "American Way of Life."
11. *Short Stories* by Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chandar, Abbas, Ashk, etc.

The President: Would you recognise the person to whom you gave the leaflets for distribution?

Henri Martin: I will not become an accomplice of repression, Mr. President.

The Defence Lawyer, Mr. Vienney: To everyone his role Mr. President!...

Yes, to everyone his role.

To the Jules Mochs and the Rene Plevens the role of the tyrants of their own people and of the murderers of the Viet-Nameese.

To Henri Martin the role of a fighter for the freedom and the honour of his own country and for international brotherhood of all the peoples of the world.

The Jules Mochs and the Rene Plevens are desecrating the great traditions of France, the land of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune.

Henri Martin in fighting against the unjust war in Viet-Nam is defending the honour of France and is carrying forward the heritage of the Jacobins and the Communards, of Gabriel Peri and the 75,000 who fell fighting against Hitler and Petain, and of Andre Marty, who organised the historic Revolt of the Black Sea Fleet at Odessa when the French Imperialists were trying to intervene against the young Soviet Republic of Russia.

Salute to Henri Martin! In the fight for Peace we shall learn from his heroic example.

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ADHUNIK PUSTAK BHANDAR

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SIGN THE APPEAL FOR A PEACE PACT

"Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take into their own hands the cause of the preservation of peace and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in enmeshing the masses of the people in a net of lies, deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war.

"This is the reason why the broad campaign for the preservation of peace, as a means for exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers, is now of paramount significance."

--- J. STALIN



Berlin Appeal for a Peace Pact

"To fulfil hopes cherished by millions of people throughout the world whatever may be their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of world war:

"To strengthen peace and safeguard international security:

"We demand the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great powers—the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France.

"We would consider a refusal to meet to conclude

such a pact, by the Government of any of the great powers whichever it might be, as evidence of an aggressive design on the part of the Government in question.

"We call upon all peace-loving nations to support the demand for this peace pact, which should be open to all countries.

"We set our names to this Appeal and we invite all men and women of good will, all organisations that hope for peace, to add their names in its support."

SIGN HERE

Cut along the dotted line and send it to your local Peace Committee or to

ALL INDIA PEACE CONGRESS, Kathar Manzil, Fort Street, Opp. RDS Building, Bombay 4-0